NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC
HISTORY
SPLENDOR IN STONE
CATHEDRALS OF THE MIDDLE AGES
OLYMPIAS
MIGHTY MOTHER OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT
EGYPTOMANIA
EUROPE'S CURIOUS MUMMY CRAZE
AMERICA'S LAST SLAVE SHIP
JOURNEY OF THE CLOTILDA
PLUS:
Killing the Consul:
The Plot to Blow Up Napoleon
NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 2019

Secrets of a Billionaire Revealed

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Pilgrimage, taking a journey to be close to the sacred, is a very old tradition that still thrives today in many of the world's faiths. Buddhists visit Lumbini in Nepal to pay homage at the birthplace of Buddha. The holiest city of Islam—Mecca, Saudi Arabia—is the goal for Muslim pilgrims embarking on the annual hajj. Millions of devout Hindus bathe in river waters considered holy during the Kumbh Mela, a festival often held on the banks of the Ganges.

In the Middle Ages Christian pilgrims in Europe crisscrossed the continent to visit holy sites. Chief among them was Santiago de Compostela, the Romanesque cathedral where the bones of St. James were kept, according to tradition. Several different routes, all dubbed the "Way of St. James," led pilgrims to northwest Spain, where the cathedral welcomed them with massive arches, statues of saints, and detailed stone reliefs of biblical scenes.

These sacred journeys all have strong ties to faith, but they also have important links to history. Traveling these pilgrimage paths connects the present day with the people of the past, letting us see the things they saw and touch what they touched. Journeys like these can stir the imagination and open the mind to what life was like along these roads so many centuries ago.

Amy Briggs

Amy Briggs, Executive Editor

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Packed together without clothing, sunlight, or fresh air, human cargo traveled belowdecks of the *Clotilda*, the last ship to bring enslaved Africans to the United States.

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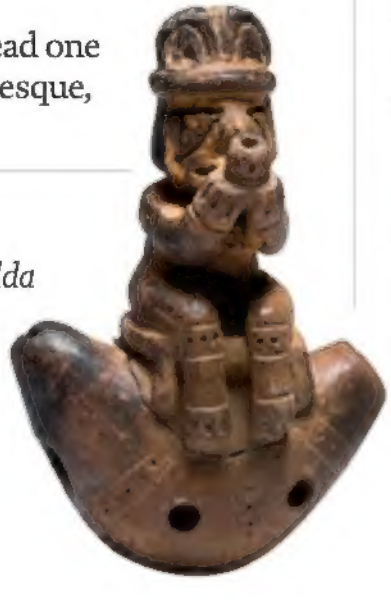

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French royalists plotted to kill Napoleon with a bomb in 1800 that was set to explode and kill the consul while he was on his way to the symphony.

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When looters stumbled on Teyuna in 1976, Colombia's archaeologists raced to save the site, home to the Tairona people and their vibrant culture.

THE DISCOVERY OF a Philistine cemetery at Ashkelon, Israel, has provided researchers with human remains to study local ancestry. Uncovered at the site were a well-preserved human skull (above), the remains of a 10th-century B.C. Philistine (below left), and a small vessel (below right) that was found near the nose.

TOP, BOTTOM LEFT, AND BOTTOM RIGHT: ©TSAFRIR ABAYOV/LEON LEVY EXPEDITION

NG MAPS

ASHKELON, today in Israel, was already an ancient seaport when it was settled by Philistine peoples from Europe around 1200 B.C. The newcomers also established rule over Ashdod, Ekron, Gath, and Gaza.

ANCIENT DNA

Tracing the Ancestry of the Biblical Philistines

Ancient DNA reveals the Israelites' archenemies originally came from Europe, settling around Ashkelon at the dawn of the Iron Age.

Ancient bones from southern Israel have confirmed the European origins of the Philistines of the Bible.

A genetic study of remains from sites near Ashkelon also strengthens the view that the Israelites' troublesome neighbors—whose best known representatives in the Bible include the giant Goliath and the seductress Delilah—settled in modern-day Israel around 1200 B.C.

The Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon joined with the Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History to analyze DNA from 10 sets of human remains. The results, published in the journal *Science Advances*, confirm that four of these sets of remains, which date to the late 1100s B.C., display significantly more European ancestry than older specimens that were analyzed.

The researchers believe these four people were recent descendants of the first Philistine migrants to the Levantine coast. Historians date their

REMAINS OF THE MEDIEVAL FATIMID WALLS OF ASHKELON, ISRAEL. THE ANCIENT SEAPORT WAS FOUNDED BY BRONZE AGE CANAANITES, AND LATER SETTLED BY THE PHILISTINES IN THE 12TH CENTURY B.C.

V. DOROSZ/ALAMY

WERE THE PHILISTINES THE SEA PEOPLES?

EGYPTIAN CHRONICLES relate the destruction wrought by warlike mariners who attempted to settle parts of Egypt, and toppled the Hittite Empire centered in modern-day Turkey. When these accounts were written in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. (a period of upheaval between the Bronze and Iron Ages), these "Sea Peoples" (a 19th-century term) were at their most destructive. One of the tribes named is the Peleset, identified by some historians as the Philistines. A relief at Ramses III's mortuary temple shows Peleset captives defeated by Ramses in the first part of the 12th century B.C. If these Peleset are indeed the Philistines, they would have already started to have settled in Ashkelon at this time.

DETAIL OF A RELIEF SHOWING PELESET CAPTIVES AT THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF RAMSES III AT MEDINET HABU, THEBES, EGYPT

ALBUM/UNIVERSAL IMAGES GROUP

arrival to around 1200 B.C., a time that coincides with the earliest production of Philistine pottery in the region.

Spot the Difference

The origins of the Philistines have long intrigued archaeologists. Until recently, only a few burials had been uncovered that could shed light on their provenance.

In 2016, however, the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon unearthed a large Philistine cemetery at the Ashkelon site. This discovery, together with the location of other Philistine burials, provided the basis for the genetic analysis across different time frames.

Genetic evidence of European provenance echoes the Bible's description of Philistine roots, saying they came from "Caphtor" (Amos 9:7), an ancient term for Crete. The Ashkelon team has yet to determine an exact origin, but Greece, Crete, and Sardinia are strong contenders.

In parallel with analysis of the four individuals from the 1100s B.C. who had a strong European genetic footprint, studies were also carried out on the bodies of Philistines who had lived later in the Iron Age. These tests reveal that the European genetic footprint had faded by then, through intermarriage with local people.

Despite this, the Philistines remained outsiders. In the Bible they are reviled for their differences, traits confirmed in archaeological finds: Their script was Aegean, not Semitic; their pottery was similar to that of the ancient Greek world; and they ate pork.

Even so, as Daniel Master, director of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon, explains, Philistine cultural differences lessened and evolved: "Over time, we can show that Philistine culture changed, that their language changed, and now that their genetic profile changed, but according to their neighbors, they remained Philistines from beginning to end."

Ovid: The Poet Exiled by an Emperor

Author of the *Metamorphoses,* Ovid was one of Rome's favorite poets, but he died in exile, banished from Rome by Augustus for reasons that history cannot identify.

Loves and Losses

43 B.C.

Publius Ovidius Naso is born in Sulmo (in eastern Italy), into a well-off family of the equestrian class.

16 B.C.

After studying in Athens, Ovid settles in Rome where he publishes his love poetry, *Amores (The Loves),* to great acclaim.

A.D. 2

Ovid's publication of the *Ars amatoria (The Art of Love),* a "self-help" work on romance, causes a sensation in Rome.

A.D. 8

Ovid completes his masterwork, *Metamorphoses.* In the same year he is exiled from Rome by Augustus.

A.D. 17

Having written the *Tristia (Lamentations),* and after years of trying unsuccessfully to return to Rome, Ovid dies in exile.

Publius Ovidius Naso—the poet known today as Ovid—tried to write his own epitaph. In a series of poems composed near the end of his life, he asked for these lines to mark his final resting place:

I who lie here was a writer
Of tales of tender love
Naso the poet, done in by my
Own ingenuity.
You who pass by, should you be
A lover, may you
Trouble yourself to say that Naso's bones
May rest softly.

Recognized today for the *Metamorphoses,* his dazzling reworking of Greek and Latin myths, Ovid was known during his time for vibrant, controversial love poetry, including the *Amores* (*The Loves*) and the *Ars amatoria* (*The Art of Love*). These frank poetic reflections on Roman sexual customs brought him fame but also played a role in his downfall.

After publishing his magnum opus, Ovid fell out of imperial favor, was forced to leave Rome, and exiled to Tomis, a city on the Black Sea. It was here, on the fringes of the empire, that Ovid pined for his beloved Rome and begged to return.

By Ovid's own account, the exile was punishment for an "error" that enraged the emperor Augustus. Ovid considered himself lucky that he escaped execution for the offense but never recorded any specific details about what he did wrong. Scholars have puzzled over the cause of the exile for centuries, which remains unsolved to this day.

Scandalous Success

Ovid was born in 43 B.C. in Sulmo (now Sulmona) 100 miles east of Rome. His letters and the *Tristia* (*Lamentations*), a five-book collection of poems written in exile, have given historians a wealth of autobiographical details.

He describes himself as a natural poet from his youth: "Poetry in meter comes unbidden to me." After a brief stint traveling and then studying in Athens, he turned his back on a political career, and went instead to Rome to become a poet. He fell in love with the city, and it embraced his poetry.

Completed in 16 B.C., Ovid's first major work was the *Amores,* a collection of poems charting a love affair with a young woman called Corinna. In this first book of poems, Ovid employed an urbane,

Augustus' motives for banishing Ovid have intrigued historians for many centuries.

EMPEROR AUGUSTUS, FIRST-CENTURY AUREUS. STATE MUSEUMS, BERLIN
BPK/SCALA, FLORENCE

MANY KINDS OF LOVE

IN THE *AMORES,* written when he was in his 20s, Ovid narrates the different phases of the poet's love for Corinna: an initial spark, followed by passion, jealousy, reproach, and finally hatred. It is thought that Corinna was an invented character, perhaps a composite of various real lovers. Later in life, Ovid would experience a more mature love, based on mutual respect, with his third wife, Fabia, who supported him through his traumatic exile. In the *Tristia,* the poems written during his last years in Tomis, he likens Fabia to Odysseus' Penelope, faithfully awaiting his return.

OVID, FIRST-CENTURY MARBLE BUST. UFFIZI GALLERY, FLORENCE

WHITE IMAGES/SCALA, FLORENCE

ironic voice. A famous poem describing a hot summer's afternoon of lovemaking ends with the lines:

> *Fill in the rest for yourselves!*
> *Tired at last, we lay sleeping.*
> *May my siestas often turn out that way.*

Some have theorized that Corinna had a real-life corollary: Fifth-century writer Sidonius Apollinaris identified her as Julia the Elder, Augustus' daughter, and posited that Ovid enjoyed a dalliance with her. Sidonius credited that scandalous relationship for Ovid's exile, but later historians have debunked this theory. Most commentators regard Corinna as a fictional character.

Following this debut, Ovid notched up one success after another. His *Heroides* (*Heroines*) was a series of dramatic monologues centering on mythological women, including Penelope, Dido and Ariadne, lamenting on their mistreatment at the hands of their lovers.

A three-part work, *Ars amatoria,* completed around A.D. 2 was a sensation. The first two parts are a "how-to" guide for men on seducing women and keeping their love. Ovid counsels that absence makes the heart grow fonder and that asking a woman's age is not a recipe for seduction. Part three is aimed at women and includes the suggestion that making a lover jealous isn't such a bad idea.

Courting Danger

Ovid had struck publishing gold. His handbook gave his young audience practical tips under the guise of a formal didactic work. But despite its success, Ovid craved a more learned readership.

AN EXILE LAMENTS

IN HIS LETTERS, Ovid complains bitterly about his conditions in exile in Tomis: "I live in the midst of foes and among dangers; as though together with my country, peace had been torn from me." Knowing that he may never return home, the poet gives vent to despair: "My mind wasting away, melts like the water that trickles from the snow. It is consumed like a ship infected with the hidden wood-worm; and as the wave of the salt sea hollows out the rocks; as the iron when thrown by, is corroded by the scaly rust; as the book that has been shut up is gnawed by the bite of the moth; so does my heart feel the eternal remorse of its cares, to be everlastingly affected thereby."

A FOURTH-CENTURY MOSAIC FLOOR IN CONSTANTA (ANCIENT TOMIS), ORIGINALLY FROM A FISHING WAREHOUSE

JOAQUÍN BÉRCHEZ

Ovid's career started when Roman literary circles were devoted to two figures: Virgil and Horace. Virgil was writing the *Aeneid,* the national epic about Aeneas the Trojan prince and mythological founder of Rome, while Horace was feted for his witty *Satires.* These two men would embody the flowering of Roman letters under Augustus.

Already in his 40s when he completed *Ars amatoria,* Ovid was neither fabulously wealthy nor well connected. He had a loyal patron, but the literary set he associated with were minor writers compared to giants like Virgil and Horace. Inspired to write a great work like the *Aeneid,* Ovid wrote the *Metamorphoses.* "My purpose is to tell of bodies which have been transformed," he wrote in his opening lines. He informed the readers that the theme of transformation will influence the very form of his long poem, which will "spin an unbroken thread of verse from the earliest beginnings of my world down to my own times."

Extremely successful in its own time, the work became one of the most influential works of Western literature, inspiring numerous works of art, music, and drama. Love, lust, grief, terror, and divine punishment trigger a series of startling changes in Ovid's retelling of 250 stories of gods and mortals.

Sailors become dolphins. The sculptor Pygmalion's kiss changes a statue into a young woman. For having spied the goddess Diana as she bathed, the hunter Actaeon is changed into a stag to be ripped apart by his hounds. In one of the *Metamorphoses'* most famous passages, Daphne flees Apollo's lustful advances and changes into a laurel tree: "Her hair

SEDUCTIVE WORDS

IN *ARS AMATORIA* (*The Art of Love*), Ovid is full of advice on how to woo a lover. He urges young men: "Nor be weary of praising her looks, her shapely fingers, her small foot; even honest maids love to hear their charms extolled; even to the chaste their beauty is a care and a delight."

A COUPLE KISS IN A FRESCO FROM POMPEII.

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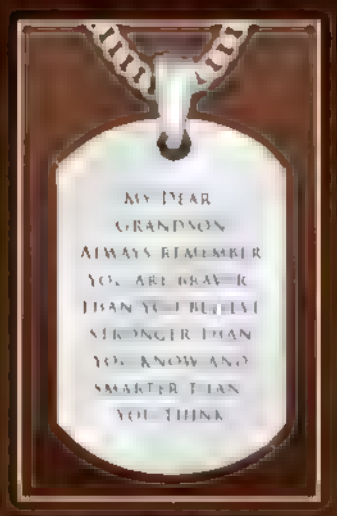

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OVID IN EXILE
This 1859 oil painting by Eugène Delacroix depicts the desolation of the poet, banished from Rome. National Gallery, London

NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON/SCALA, FLORENCE

grew into leaves, her arms into branches, and her feet that were lately so swift, were held by sluggish roots, while her face became the treetop. Nothing of her was left, except her shining loveliness."

By age 50 Ovid had reached the peak of his popularity. His groundbreaking style had established him as one of the most popular poets in Rome. But it was just as his fortunes were riding high that disaster broke. In A.D. 8, as Ovid was garnering praise for the *Metamorphoses*, the emperor Augustus decided to send him into exile.

Ovid lived the rest of his years in Tomis. His petitions to the emperor were all in vain. After Augustus' death in A.D. 14, Ovid tried to get his successor Tiberius to commute his sentence, but the new emperor was impervious to the continued pleas of both the poet and his wife Fabia. The Roman love poet died in A.D. 17, far from the city where he had made his name, and which he had loved so dearly.

Mysteries of Exile

Scholars still have not pinpointed all the reasons why Augustus wanted Ovid exiled. The poet attributed his punishment to "*carmen et error*"—"a poem and an error." Most historians agree the "poem" was the *Ars amatoria*, whose rakish indifference to social norms was at odds with the new imperial morality Augustus was promoting. As chief priest, the emperor was guardian of laws and customs *(curator legum et morum)* and was eager to restore traditional social norms.

In A.D. 8, the year of Ovid's banishment, however, the *Ars amatoria* was more than five years old. Historians largely agree that while the poem might have served as extra evidence of Ovid's undesirability in the eyes of Augustus, it was a secondary cause for his banishment. The real reason for Ovid's exile was the "error," references to which are scattered through Ovid's later writing. Scanning these texts for clues, scholars have found several hints as to what the "error" might have been. The poet never spells it out, but states that it was unpremeditated, the result of a foolish mistake.

Numerous hypotheses have been put forward. American scholar John C. Thibault's 1964 book, *The Mystery of Ovid's Exile*, studies medieval writings that speculate on Ovid's error. Among the most dramatic are that Ovid knew of an incestuous affair between Augustus and his daughter Julia, or that Ovid had a dalliance with Livia, the emperor's wife.

The 20th-century British Ovid scholar Peter Green proposes that the error was not moral, but political. A very delicate theme at the time was the question of Augustus' succession. If Ovid had gossiped about certain political factions, his indiscretions (combined with the salaciousness of his earlier erotic poetry) could have been enough to seal his fate.

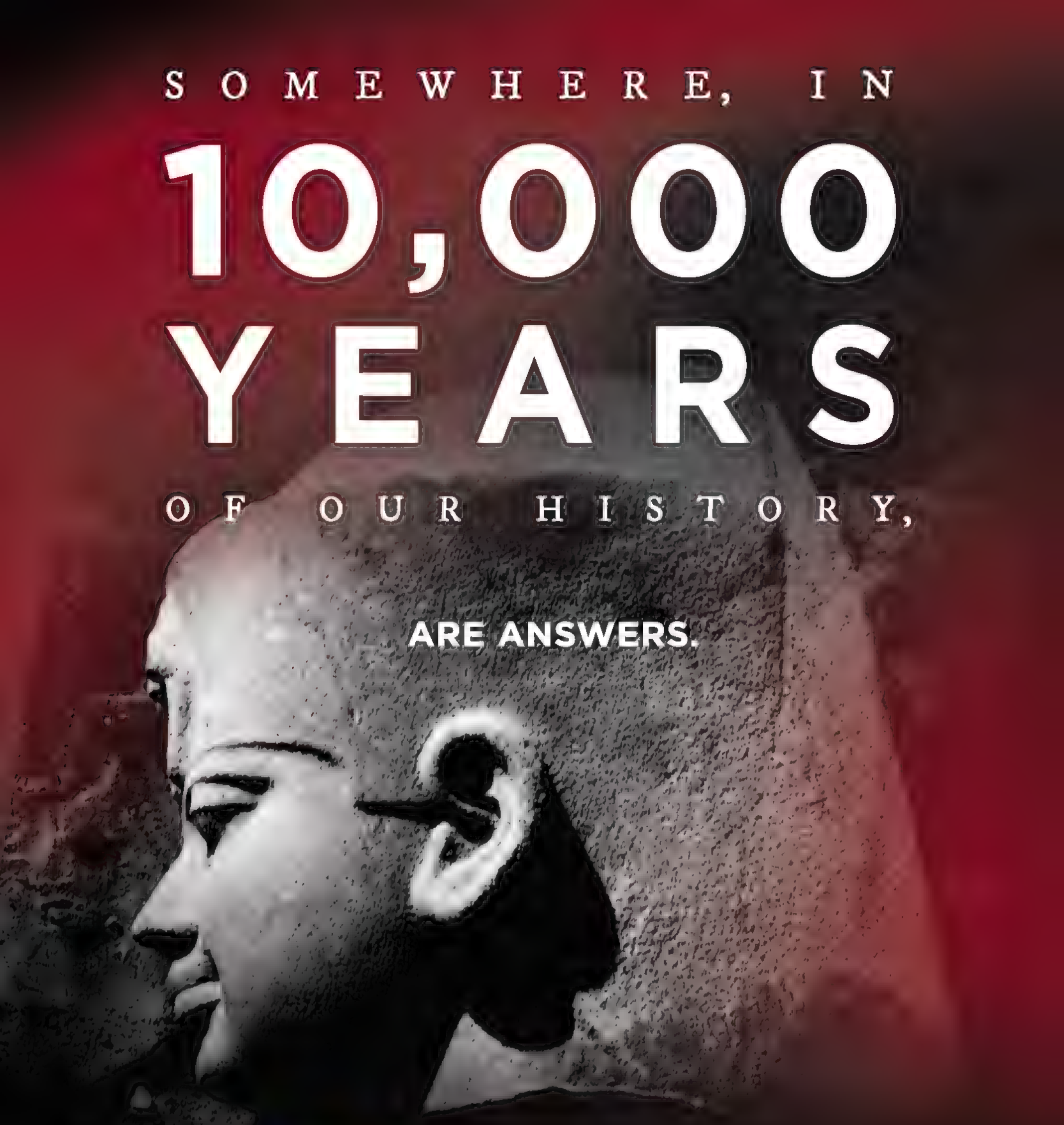
—Esteban Berché

SOMEWHERE, IN

10,000 YEARS

OF OUR HISTORY,

ARE ANSWERS.



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CHAOS ENSUED after the "infernal machine" exploded on December 24, 1800, as shown in an engraving of the assassination attempt.
GERARD BLOT/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

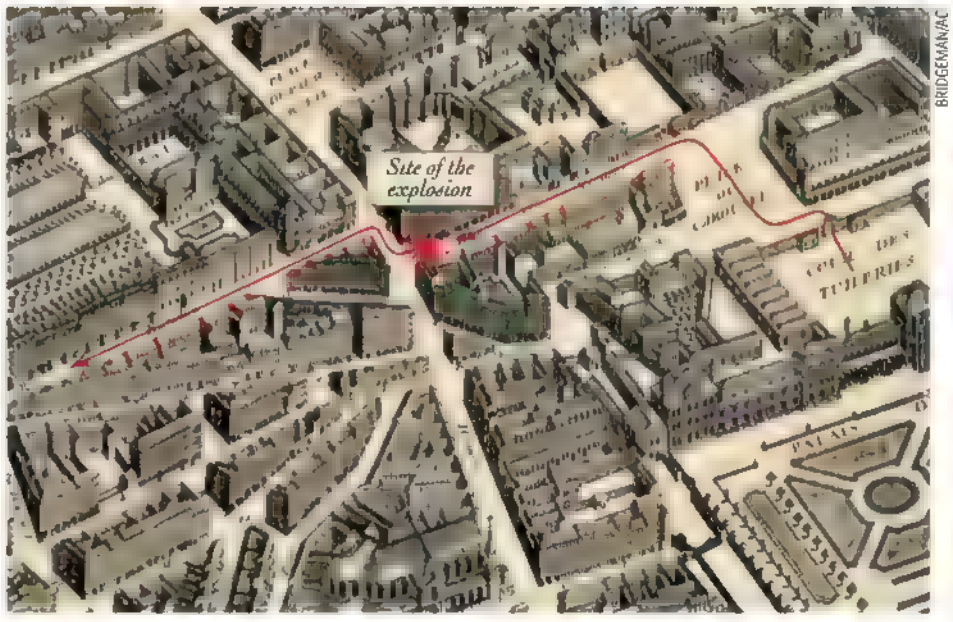
The Explosive Plot to Assassinate Napoleon

On Christmas Eve, 1800, a group of monarchist rebels attempted to kill Napoleon Bonaparte, the first consul of France, as he was on his way to a concert.

On the night of December 24, 1800, the first French performance of *The Creation*, an oratorio by famous composer Joseph Haydn, premiered at the Theater of the Republic and the Arts in Paris. Shortly after the orchestra began playing, a thunderous sound from outside the building interrupted the opening movement, "Representation of Chaos." Chaos, indeed, for a homemade bomb, intended for Napoleon Bonaparte was the source of the commotion.

Napoleon had been first consul of the French Republic for almost a year. Seeking to restore order and unity to post-revolutionary France, he had instituted popular reforms, including establishing the lycée system for secondary education and creating the Bank of France to improve France's financial stability. His rise to power had also earned him many enemies. Jacobin radicals, who were loyal to the government that had preceded Napoleon's coup, viewed the first consul as a traitor to the revolution, while royalists sought restoration of the monarchical ancien régime and the Bourbon dynasty.

In Napoleon's initial year as first consul, opposition took the form of assassination plots and conspiracies against him. Malmaison, an estate west of Paris owned by his wife, Joséphine, was the site of several alleged plots, but none were carried out. In October 1800 four men believed to be Jacobins armed themselves with knives and planned to stab Napoleon to death in his box at the opera in the so-called Dagger Plot. The conspirators were caught, arrested, and



BRIDGEMAN/AC

IN THE NEWS

THE STREET PLAN above, a detail from an 18th-century engraving of Paris, shows where the attack took place. The next day's press carried vivid reports of the atrocity: The *Moniteur Universel* reported on "the terrible explosion" that took place "at 8 o'clock as the First Consul was being escorted to the opera from the courtyard of the Tuileries Palace . . . It killed three women, a shopkeeper and a child. Fifteen people were injured . . . Around 15 houses have been considerably damaged."

later executed for plotting to kill the new French leader.

Planning the Attack

The press had announced that Napoleon would be attending the French premiere of the oratorio on December 24. Georges Cadoudal, a former leader of royalist rebels named the Chouans, whose armies Napoleon had defeated earlier that year, planned his own great "debut" for that evening as well. Cadoudal enlisted three other veterans in his operation: Pierre Robinault de Saint-Régent, Joseph Picot de Limoëlan, and François-Jean Carbon from Paris. These co-conspirators intended to kill Napoleon, and so remove the man they viewed as the single greatest obstacle to restoring the Bourbon dynasty.

On December 17, Carbon bought a small cart and a horse from a Parisian grain dealer. At dusk on December 24, Limoëlan and Carbon drove the cart from an empty building on the outskirts of the capital and arrived at the triumphal arch of the Porte Saint-Denis in central Paris. To the cart they attached a large wine barrel loaded with 200 pounds of gunpowder and sharp stones. The barrel turned bomb, known as the "infernal machine," would be detonated with a hand-lit fuse.

It was known that Napoleon always took the same route to the theater. His carriage would leave the Tuileries Palace, cross Place du Carrousel, and turn left along Rue Saint-Nicaise. Robinault placed the horse and cart at the end of Saint-Nicaise, piling stones and rubble around it to give the impression that it had broken down. The cart was positioned so that it partially blocked the road. The bomb was concealed with hay, straw, and a sack of oats.

Limoëlan waited in Place du Carrousel so he could see Bonaparte's cavalry escort leaving the Tuileries Palace. Once the convoy was sighted, he would give Robinault the signal to light the fuse, which would take several seconds to burn. To ensure that no one interfered with or moved the cart, Robinault paid a 14-year-old girl named Marianne Peusol to hold the horse's reins while he stood by and held the fuse.

Napoleon had many enemies among the Jacobins and those nostalgic for the monarchy.

A DETAIL FROM "NAPOLEON AS FIRST CONSUL," AN 1802 PAINTING BY ANTOINE-JEAN GROS. MUSÉE DE LA LÉGION D'HONNEUR, PARIS

ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

PLACE DU CARROUSEL, which Napoleon's carriage crossed on the way to hear a concert in 1800, is home to a triumphal arch built circa 1808 to honor his victories.
MARKUS LANGE/GETTY IMAGES

A Night at the Theater

As the conspirators laid their trap, Napoleon and his family prepared for the concert. According to Gen. Jean Rapp, Napoleon's aide, Napoleon grew impatient as his wife, Joséphine, fussed with a shawl she had just received. Napoleon decided to leave and boarded his carriage with three of his generals for the half-mile ride to the theater. Joséphine would follow in a second carriage with her daughter, Hortense; General Rapp; and Caroline Bonaparte, Napoleon's sister.

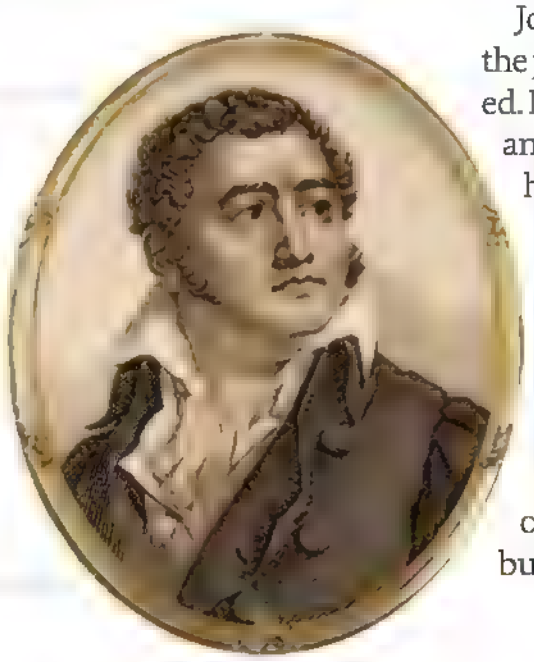
The first consul's carriage sped away quickly, leaving behind the cavalry escort. Caught off guard by the sudden appearance of Napoleon's carriage, Limoëlan failed to provide Robinault with a timely signal. Meanwhile, the leading outrider of Napoleon's entourage, who saw a cart blocking part of the road ahead and a carriage blocking the other side of the road, pushed between the two vehicles to create a gap for Napoleon's driver. Robinault later claimed that he was knocked over by the outrider's horse, but in the confusion he lost sight of Limoëlan and lit the fuse seconds too late. The bomb went off after Napoleon was far past, and only his carriage windows were damaged.

Joséphine's carriage had just reached the palace gate when the bomb detonated. Her carriage windows broke as well, and a shard of glass cut Hortense's hand. One of the cavalry escorts rode up to inform them that Napoleon was unhurt and that they should proceed to the theater.

Marianne Peusol and the horse both died immediately. The buildings near the explosion were badly damaged or destroyed. Accounts of the number of casualties varied, but few bystanders on Saint-Nica-

AN ESCALATION IN TERROR

CADOUDAL'S CONSPIRACY included other smaller plots intended to distract the French police from the royalists' ultimate goal. In September 1800 French senator Dominique Clément de Ris was kidnapped. In November former Bishop Audrein of Finistère was assassinated.



GEORGES CADOUDAL IN A 19TH-CENTURY ENGRAVING AKG/ALBUM

Death of a Conspirator

AFTER HE WAS SENTENCED TO DEATH in 1804 for conspiring to assassinate Napoleon, Georges Cadoudal refused to beg him for mercy. In June of that year, Cadoudal was the first of 12 royalist prisoners to be guillotined. Armand de Polignac, an artist and a royalist, portrayed the scene in this 19th-century watercolor painting.

BRIDGEMAN/AC.

ise, a lively, busy street, escaped uninjured. When General Rapp reached the theater, he found Napoleon "calm and composed," surveying the applauding audience through his opera glass. Napoleon then said "very coolly" to Rapp, "The rascals wanted to blow me up. Bring me a book of the Oratorio."

Napoleon blamed the attack on "blood-drinking" Jacobins. In a fury, he said to his police chief, Joseph Fouché: "For such an atrocious crime, we must have vengeance like a thunderbolt. Blood must flow. We must shoot as many guilty men as there have been victims." Fouché suggested that the royalists had planned the attack, but Napoleon continued to blame the Jacobins. Fouché followed Napoleon's orders and arrested 130 of them.

The police tracked down the grain dealer, who identified the remains of the cart and described the buyer, Carbon, in detail. The police also located the stable where the conspirators had kept the mare, who had been identified by her horseshoes. The police arrested Carbon, who then gave up his accomplices. Robinault was captured and executed alongside Carbon on April 20, 1801. Limoëlan fled to the United States. Cadoudal escaped to Britain, but he later returned to France to embark on another failed plot against Napoleon. He was captured, and executed in 1804.

Weaponized Fear

The "infernal machine" plot marked the first time that a bomb had been used for an assassination attempt. It was neither the first nor the last attack against Napoleon. However, it was unique in that it targeted an individual but was indiscriminate in its impact. This was an act that took political dissent in a new direction.

During the French Revolution's Reign of Terror (1793–94), the word "terrorism" emerged to describe the use of fear for political purposes as employed by the reigning regime. It punished people thought to oppose the revolution, which sought not only to eradicate existing enemies but to suppress future opposition.

In the revolution's turbulent aftermath, the meaning of the word "terrorism" shifted to apply not to violence perpetrated by a government but to that perpetrated against a government. The royalist rebels' act of terrorism was an attempt to dismantle a leader and an ideology that they loathed.

But their plot had unintended consequences. Though the true culprits were royalists, Napoleon nonetheless seized an opportunity to repress the Jacobins, insisting upon their exile from France. Napoleon was able to punish and purge his enemies on both sides, toppling potential threats to his authoritarian ambition. Four years later, he would crown himself emperor of France.

—Juan José Sánchez

MUMMY MANIA

FROM SPECTACLE TO SCHOLARSHIP

For centuries Europeans viewed Egyptian mummies as lucrative commodities, but attitudes shifted in the 1800s as mummies became scholarly artifacts that could reveal secrets from the distant past.

JOSÉ MIGUEL PARRA

Examining Ancient Egypt's Dead

1698
Benoît de Maillet, the French consul in Egypt, unwraps a mummy in Cairo in front of a group of Europeans. He will later publish his findings.

1716
The German apothecary Christian Hertzog unrolls a headless mummy and finds 74 amulets among its wrappings.

1834
The London physician Thomas Pettigrew publishes a foundational work on the study of mummies: *A History of Egyptian Mummies.*

1881
A cache of royal mummies from the New Kingdom (second millennium B.C.) is found, including that of Thutmose III and Seti I.

1912
Grafton Elliot Smith writes the *Catalogue of the Royal Mummies in the Museum of Cairo,* and is the first to successfully x-ray a mummy.

ENTERING THE UNDERWORLD
Mummification was an elaborate ritual carried out by priests, such as the two (left) who are preparing mummified bodies for their journey to the afterlife. National Archaeological Museum, Florence

DEA/A.BUM

Mummies are often a star attraction at many of the world's great museums. Their temperature-controlled glass cabinets protect and preserve these bodies, which are thousands of years old. Locked within them is the history of how people lived along the Nile many millennia ago. Modern scholars treat them with reverence and great care, but it was not always the case.

Until very recently, Egyptian mummies were used by Europeans for practical rather than academic purposes. Their bodies were treated as a commodity because of the medical, supernatural, and physical characteristics they were believed to possess. Starting in the 15th century, merchants sought to profit from trafficking mummies out of Egypt and into Europe, and a robust "mummy trade" grew around them.

Strange Medicine

Mummification was a complex, lengthy process that helped preserve the body for its journey in

THE MUMMY STUDIED BY BENOÎT DE MAILLET *DESCRIPTION DE L'ÉGYPTE*, EDITED BY JEAN-BAPTISTE LE MASCRIER, 1735.
BNF

PUBLIC DISPLAY

BENOÎT DE MAILLET, the French consul in Egypt between 1692 and 1708, was the first European to stage a mummy unwrapping in front of an audience. The event took place in Cairo in September 1698. Maillet did not take notes of his process or methods, but he did detail some of the amulets and objects found among the wrappings. A drawing of this mummy appears in *Description de l'Égypte*, a work published in 1735.

the afterlife. Although the process changed over time, many of its core practices remained the same. After removing the body's internal organs, priests would use natron, a naturally occurring salt, to dry it out. Sometimes fragrant substances, like myrrh, were used to anoint the body. Oils and resins would be applied to the body, which would then be stuffed with linen rags or sawdust before being sealed and wrapped in bandages.

Scholars have had difficulty pinning down exactly how mummies came to be used for medicine. There is evidence that Europeans believed that embalmed bodies contained otherworldly healing powers. Other scholars trace the relationship's origin to the misconception that mummies contained bitumen, a substance long associated with healing in the ancient world.

Black, sticky, and viscous, bitumen is a form of petroleum found in areas around the Dead Sea. First-century A.D. writers Pliny the Elder and Dioscorides, as well as the second-century A.D. Galen, wrote about its healing properties. Dioscorides described one form as a liquid from Apollonia (modern Albania) known, in Persian, as *mumiya*. According to Pliny, it could heal wounds and a range of maladies.

European scholars in the Middle Ages associated bitumen with a blackish substance found in the tombs of Egypt. An 11th-century physician, Constantinus Africanus, wrote that mumiya "is a spice found in the sepulchers of the dead . . . That is best which is black, ill-smelling, shiny, and massive."

The Mummy Trade

Europe began to link mummies with medicine in the 15th century, in response to a robust demand for medical mumiya. Naturally occurring bitumen was rare, so enterprising merchants went hunting in Egyptian tombs for alternative supplies. When ground to a powder, those preserved bodies and

EGYPT DESCRIBED

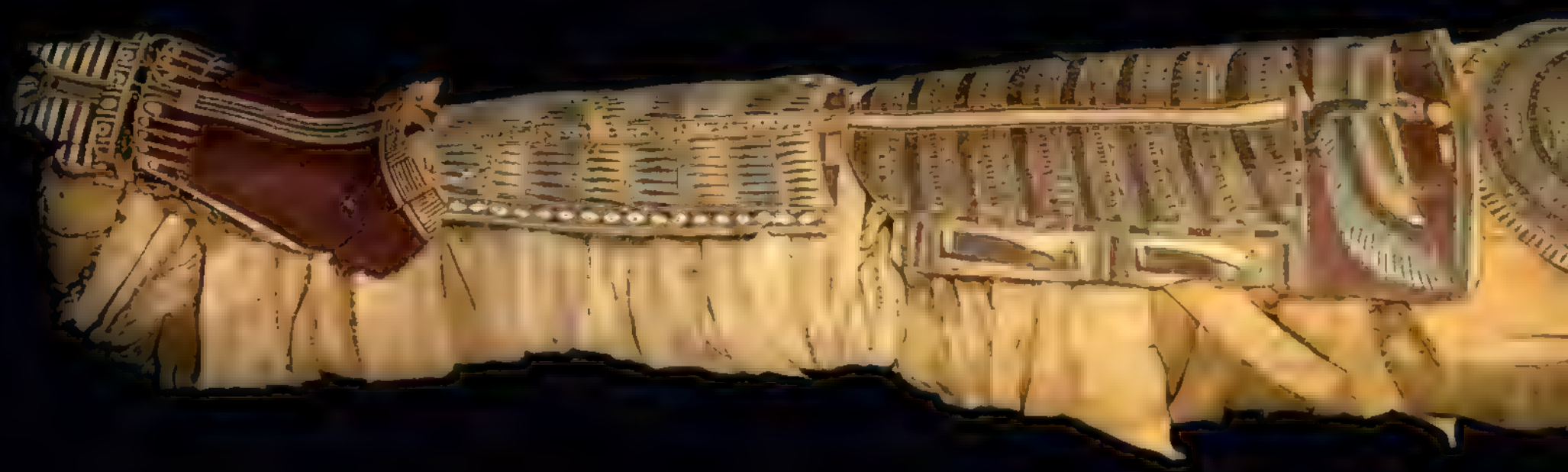
The 17th-century naturalist Benoît de Maillet (below) gave an extremely accurate description of the geography and wildlife of Egypt in his *Description de l'Égypte*. Portrait of Maillet by Étienne Jeaurat, Versailles

GÉRARD BLOT/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

STAR ATTRACTIONS

Throughout the 19th century, major archaeological museums in Europe strove to gather impressive collections of Egyptian antiquities. Now held in the Spanish National Archaeological Museum in Madrid, this Egyptian mummy of a woman who lived in the Third Intermediate Period (circa 1070 B.C.-664 B.C.) was acquired by Eduardo Toda, the Spanish consul in Cairo between 1884 and 1886.

PRISMA/ALBUM



their resins, oils, and aromatic substances not only had the same consistency and color as original Persian mumiya but also smelled better.

It was not always easy to acquire a mummy, so less scrupulous Eastern merchants decided to make their own. Apothecaries noticed a difference. As Guy de La Fontaine complained in 1564, after his journey to Alexandria to acquire the drug, the problem was that in many instances the mummies were modern corpses treated to resemble ancient mummies. A distinction was then drawn between primary or true mumiya and secondary or false mumiya.

The process of turning a recently deceased human being into a persuasive facsimile of an ancient Egyptian mummy was an unpleasant one. Luis de Urreta, a Spanish monk in the Dominican Order, gives a detailed account of the murderous and grim method used in his 1610 work *Historia de los reynos de la Etiopía* (*History of the Kingdoms of Ethiopia*). The procedure consisted of repeatedly starving a captive and giving him special "medications" before cutting off his head as he slept. The body was then drained of blood, filled with spices, wrapped in hay, and buried for 15 days. After exhumation, it dried in the sun for 24 hours. By the end of this gruesome process, the flesh had darkened and transformed. The monk described it as being not only cleaner and finer than that of ancient mummies but also more effective.

MUMMY DUST

A Physical Dictionary, published in 1657, describes *mumiya* as "like pitch: some affirm it's taken out of old Tombs, being the embalming of dead bodies." German Pharmacy Museum, Heidelberg Castle

AKG/ALBUM

Not everyone sang the praises of mumiya as a drug, regardless of whether it was "true" or "false." As early as 1582, the Frenchman Ambroise Paré wrote in his *Discours de la mumie*, "the effect of this malevolent drug is such that not only does it do nothing whatsoever to improve patients, as I have seen for myself on numerous occasions among those forced to take it, but it also causes them terrible stomach pains, a foul smell in the mouth, and great vomiting, which are the origin of disorders in the blood and even make it flow from the vessels that contain it."

Europeans used ground up mummies as medicine, but they also used them in art. From at least the 16th century, a pigment called "mummy brown" was made from mummified human remains and appeared on the palettes of

MUMMIES FROM THE CACHE AT DEIR EL BAHRI ARE CARRIED TO THE BOAT THAT WILL TAKE THEM TO CAIRO. PRINT, 19TH CENTURY

LOOK AND LEARN/BRIDGEMAN/ACI

THE LOST PHARAOHS

IN 1881 a hidden tomb of royal mummies was discovered at Deir el Bahri in the Theban Necropolis. The site known as the Royal Cache (or tomb DB320) was found to contain the remains of many powerful 18th- and 19th-dynasty pharaohs, including Thutmose III, Seti I, and Ramses II. Egyptologists believed they were transferred to this cache for safekeeping sometime during the 21st dynasty (11th and 10th centuries B.C.) in a successful attempt to elude looters.

European artists. To mix the pigment, ground-up ancient bodies were mixed with pitch and myrrh. At the time, apothecaries, who were responsible for producing medicines made out of mummies, would often double as mixers of the pigment, making it easy to make the leap from medicine cabinet to artist's palette.

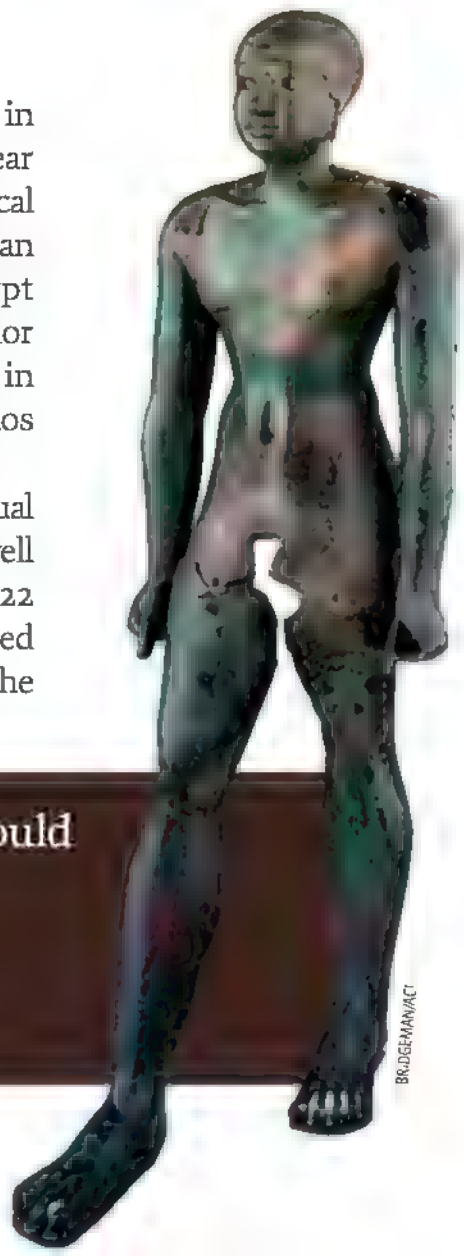
Historical records date mummy brown's early use to the Renaissance. Painters were said to prize mummy brown for its richness and versatility; they often used it for shading, chiaroscuro, and, appropriately, flesh tones.

How often it was used and in what specific paintings has been difficult for art historians to ascertain, but the color remained in use until the Romantic painters of the late 19th century. Many artists did keep the color in stock, such as Pre-Raphaelite painters Edward Burne-Jones and Lawrence Alma-Tadema. Eugène Delacroix, one of the greatest painters of France's 19th-century Romantic school, is known for the large areas of shadow and gloom on his canvases, which have struck scholars as likely candidates for the use of mummy brown.

Superstitions

The economic demand for mumiya worked in parallel with the equally powerful forces of fear and superstition. Even though, from the classical period onward, the occasional Greek or Roman traveler returned home from a trip to Egypt with a mummified animal, it seems that prior to the 15th century, there was little interest in transporting mummies to Europe as mementos or collector's objects.

Mummies were perceived as powerful spiritual objects. This lingering superstition survived well into the 20th century. Howard Carter's 1922 discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun inspired tales of the "mummy's curse" that protected the



Merenre I of the 6th dynasty could be the earliest royal mummy known to archaeologists.

MERENRE I, COPPER STATUE, EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, CAIRO

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

MISSING MUMMY

When it was discovered in 1817, the tomb of Seti I contained a giant stone sarcophagus but no royal mummy. His body would be discovered more than six decades later among the Royal Cache at Deir el Bahri. French Egyptologist Gaston Maspero unwrapped Seti I's mummy in June 1886 and found the body in remarkable condition. Today, the pharaoh's mummy rests in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

ALBUM/THE PRINT COLLECTOR

MUMMIES MARKET

The mummy craze led to a macabre souvenir trade. "I am persuaded that," wrote the French aristocrat Ferdinand de Géramb in 1833, "a traveler returning from Egypt cannot decently show his face in Europe without a mummy in one hand and a crocodile in another."A mummy vendor rests by his wares in Egypt around 1877

JEAN-GILLES BENZZI/RMN-GRAND PALAIS

AN EGYPTIAN WIDOW MOURNS HER MUMMIFIED HUSBAND IN THIS 1872 WORK BY LAWRENCE ALMA-TADEMA. DESPITE HIS KNOWLEDGE OF MUMMY BROWN'S ORIGINS, IT IS NOT KNOWN IF THE ARTIST USED THE PIGMENT IN THIS PAINTING.
BRIDGEMAN

PAINTING WITH THE DEAD

EDWARD BURNE-JONES was one of England's leading Pre-Raphaelite artists in the Victorian age. Like many of his contemporaries he painted scenes inspired by mythology, folklore, and the ancient world. In his memoirs, Rudyard Kipling (Burne-Jones's nephew) recalled how fellow painter Lawrence Alma-Tadema shocked Burne-Jones when he told him that mummy brown was made from real mummies. Burne-Jones was skeptical at first but then grew horrified at the idea. His widow, Georgina, wrote in her biography of her husband's reaction: "When assured that it was actually compounded of real mummy, he left us at once, hastened to the studio, and returning with the only tube he had, insisted on our giving it decent burial there and then."

pharaoh's tomb and killed several members of Carter's team.

This fear has deep roots in the European imagination, and preyed on the guilty minds of tomb robbers. Renaissance-era chronicles tell of Octavius Fagnola, a 16th-century Christian who converted to Islam. He had been a tomb robber in Egypt. While at work among the graves of Giza, he came across a corpse with no internal organs wrapped in an ox skin and containing a scarab, a kind of amulet that was thought to protect the heart.

Dodging the customs men and loading the mummy onto a ship bound for Italy proved to be the easy part. Halfway through the voyage, a violent storm rose up; it seemed like the ship would be lost. "The corpses of Egyptians always stir up storms," reflected Fagnola, and he consigned his mummy to the waters that night.

Such stories were commonplace in 16th-century Europe, when the Christian world and the Ottoman Empire were vying for control of the Mediterranean. At the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, the Holy League defeated the Turkish fleet. Following this decisive victory, the news raced around the Mediterranean's bustling ports, which were fertile ground for gossip. A rumor circulated that the Turks were doomed by having a mummy aboard one of their ships. The defeat that followed only served to reinforce the idea that mummies exercised a power to inflict maritime disaster on the unwary.

Fear of such objects was not enough to cause a drop in demand in Europe for medicine derived from mummies. The 16th-century Ottoman authorities who ruled Egypt enacted laws to control the trade in mummies. This measure backfired, creating a lucrative black market.

Parties and Performance

By the 18th century, using mummies as medicine had fallen from favor. European attitudes toward mummies were shifting, and scholars began to be more interested in what lay under the winding sheets of a mummy's wrappings. Unwrapping a mummy would become an event, one that could be hosted in a private home or, later, in

"MUMMY" PETTIGREW

Through his work with mummies, Thomas Pettigrew (below, in an 1893 portrait) observed that mummification techniques changed over time, which became vital in the dating of ancient artifacts.
SCALA, FLORENCE

HANDLE WITH CARE

Photographed in the 19th century, two unidentified men carefully dissect a mummy, illustrating how academic attitudes toward Egyptian antiquities were changing. Moving away from entertainment, unwrapping a mummy was becoming scholarly work.

BEAUX-ARTS, PARIS/RMN-GRAND PALA S

PUBLIC VIEW
Opened in 1824, the Egyptian Museum in Turin, Italy, is the world's oldest museum dedicated to Egyptian culture. Artist Lorenzo Delleani depicts how the exhibits, including mummies, were displayed [illegible]

DEA/SCALA/FLORENCE

BRACELETS FOR A KING

Colorful bracelets (below) were taken from a mummified arm found in the tomb of Pharaoh Djer from Egypt's 1st dynasty. The limb was discarded shortly after being photographed. Egyptian Museum, Cairo

ARALDO DE LUCA

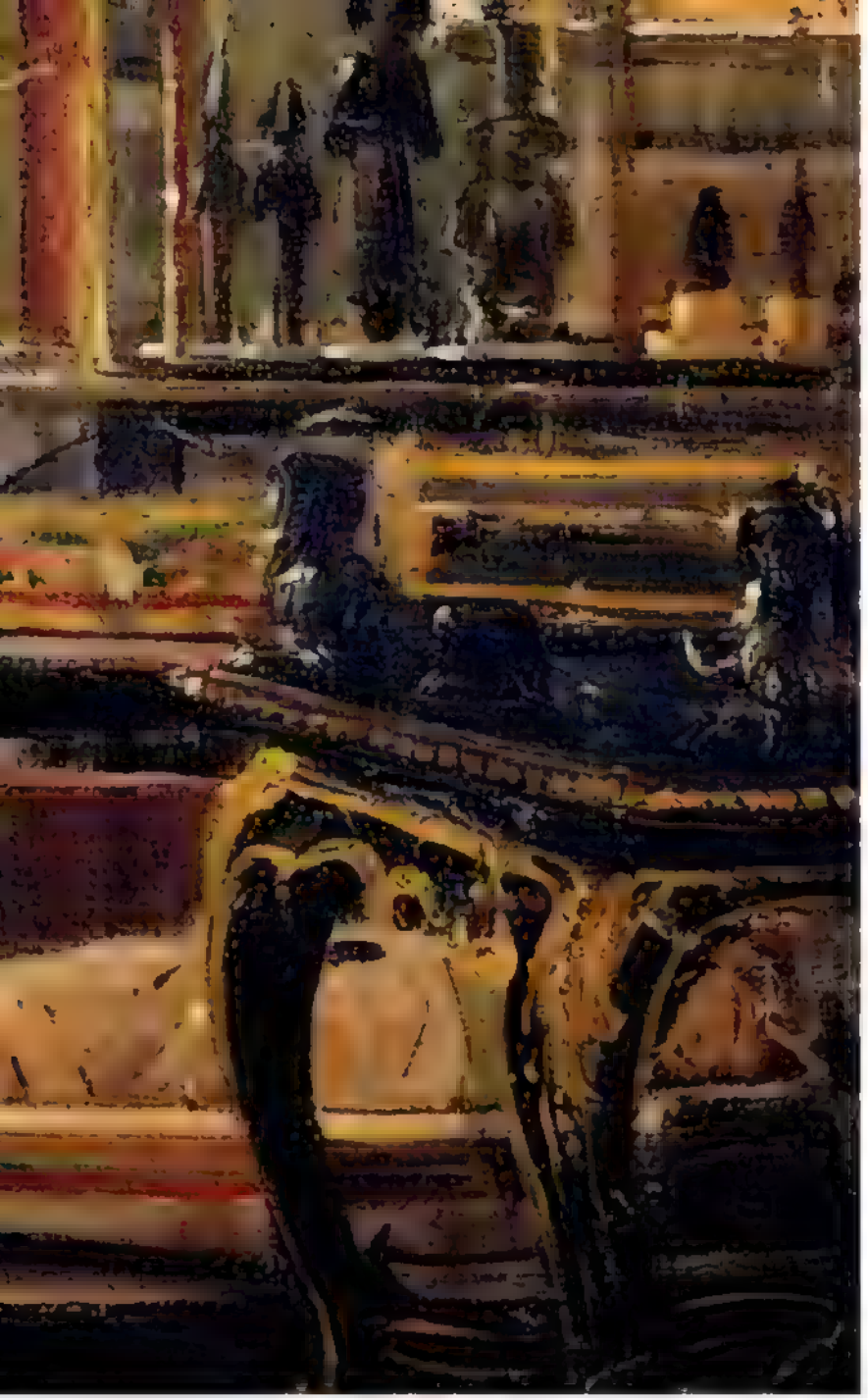
a public theater. The first recorded account of a mummy unwrapping occurred in 1698. Benoît de Maillet, the French consul in Cairo, was the first European to delve beneath the bindings and take extensive notes. In the early 1700s, Christian Hertzog, apothecary to the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, unwrapped a mummy in front of an audience. He published his findings in the book *Mumiographia,* a detailed account of the artifacts found inside.

The public study of mummies continued and reached a new peak in the early 19th century after the Napoleonic Wars and English colonialism were stirring up new interest in ancient Egypt. Throughout the 19th century, public mummy unwrappings were highly popular events in England. The man who pioneered them was Thomas Pettigrew, a 19th-century English surgeon, who became known later in life as "Mummy Pettigrew." He began his Egyptology career as assistant to Giovanni Battista Belzoni, the Italian explorer who discovered the tomb of Seti I in 1817. An astonishing find, the tomb was missing its mummy.

As part of an exhibition of reliefs from Seti's tomb, Belzoni, aided by Pettigrew, unwrapped a mummy before a group of physicians in 1821. Pettigrew became fascinated himself and began a lifelong career in the study of Egypt. In 1834 he published a treatise on mummies that included descriptions of the objects found inside.

Pettigrew's public dissections of mummies were wildly popular in the 1830s. Spectators were left spellbound or nauseated as the face—gaunt and desiccated but nevertheless that of a recognizable human being, dead for many thousands of years—was gradually revealed from beneath its protective garments.

After noting that one individual had a large bone tumor, Pettigrew began to see how a mummy was a record of a real person. He understood that his investigations could reconstruct the details of an individual life. Pettigrew's insight moved the study of mummies



TOURISTS POSE ON CAMELS IN FRONT OF THE SPHINX AT GIZA IN A GERMAN STEREOSCOPIC IMAGE FROM THE 1880S.

AKG/ALBUM

ON HOLIDAY

BY THE 1870s Egypt had become a fashionable winter holiday destination for wealthy Europeans. In 1877 the English writer Amelia Edwards published a book about her experiences there. She recorded impressions of events such as the discovery of a sarcophagus at Kurna, on the banks of the Nile. Other memorable events included a local Egyptian governor who invited her to lunch inside a tomb that had been converted into a warehouse for mummies.

away from pure public spectacle (though it partly remained that) and into the realm of scientific analysis. His *A History of Egyptian Mummies* is considered as one of the founding texts of Egyptology.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a series of important archaeological discoveries provided new insights as Egyptology was developing into a more formal discipline. In 1881 a huge cache of royal mummies from the New Kingdom—including Seti I's missing body—was discovered in the Theban Necropolis, followed in 1898 by the tomb of Amenhotep II in the Valley of the Kings. Many of these mummies were unwrapped, but their physical appearances and any artifacts were carefully documented according to the academic practices of the time.

In the early 1900s new methods for studying mummies came into practice. Grafton Elliot Smith, an anatomist at the Cairo School of Medicine, photographed the royal mummies. His 1912 book, *Catalogue of the Royal Mummies in the Museum of Cairo,* is still used as a reference. Smith was the first to use x-rays on mummies.

Mummies were beginning to be seen as precious repositories of knowledge in addition to being human remains that demanded respect. Some old habits died hard, however. As late as 1900, a tomb believed to hold Pharaoh Djer, who died circa 3055 B.C., was excavated. Djer is thought to be the third king from the 1st dynasty, one of the first rulers to preside over a unified Egypt. Yet when a mummified arm, complete with bracelets, was found, the jewelry was carefully removed and preserved. As for the arm, it was noted, photographed, and thrown in the trash—an act that would fill modern scholars with horror and outrage.

AUTHOR OF SEVERAL BOOKS ON PYRAMIDS AND DAILY LIFE IN ANCIENT EGYPT JOSÉ MIGUEL PARRA HAS PARTICIPATED IN RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT LUXOR.

Learn more

The Mummy's Curse: The True History of a Dark Fantasy
Roger Luckhurst,
Oxford University Press, 2012

Wonderful Things: A History of Egyptology 1: From Antiquity to 1881
Jason Thompson,
American University in Cairo Press, 2015

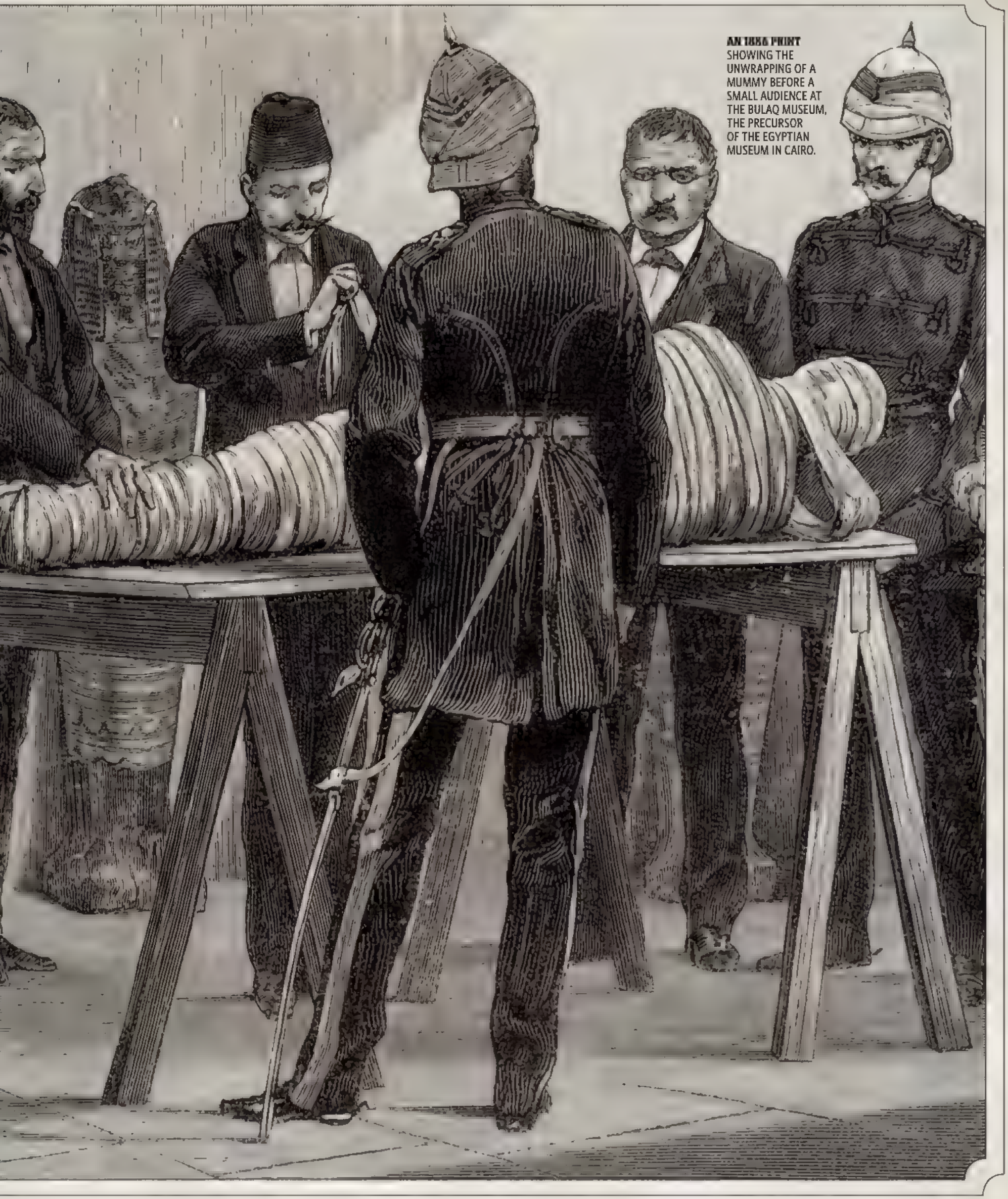
EGYPTOMANIA IN ENGLAND

England's fascination with all things Egypt was probably best expressed through viewings of mummy unrollings. These macabre events were organized both in public places and private homes, and attendees—both men and women—would flock to see what lay beneath a mummy's wrappings. Typically a physician or antiquarian would display the body before unwrapping it and showing the objects inside.

«A Mummy from Thebes will be unrolled at half-past Two.»

So states the invitation (above) sent by Lord Londesborough for June 10, 1850. The nobleman organized this event at his London residence, officiated by Samuel Birch, Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum. Birch had no medical training and gives few details concerning the physical condition of the mummy. Those attending the event watched with delight as a copy of the Book of the Dead, various amulets, and some beautiful silver gloves appeared amid the wrappings.

ABOVE: AKG/ALBUM. **RIGHT:** BRIDGEMAN/ACI



AN 1886 PRINT SHOWING THE UNWRAPPING OF A MUMMY BEFORE A SMALL AUDIENCE AT THE BULAQ MUSEUM, THE PRECURSOR OF THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM IN CAIRO.

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THE WOMAN BEHIND THE THRONE

OLYMPIAS

Ancient historians depict her as ruthless and cruel, but Olympias possessed enough ambition and wits to match the men in her life: Philip II of Macedonia and Alexander the Great. Her savvy and strength brought power to her family.

ELIZABETH CARNEY

Wife, Mother, Ruler

370s B.C.
Olympias is born, the daughter of the ruler of the northern Greek state of Molossia. Like its neighbor Macedonia, Molossia is a hereditary kingdom.

357 B.C.
Olympias becomes a wife of the polygamous Philip II, king of Macedonia. A year later, she bears his son, the future Alexander the Great.

337 B.C.
Philip takes a new bride, Cleopatra Eurydice, who is Macedonian. At the wedding, Alexander's honor is insulted by Attalus, uncle of the bride.

336 B.C.
Philip is killed in a brawl at a feast. Alexander becomes king, and has Attalus executed. Olympias has Cleopatra Eurydice and her child killed.

330 B.C.
Alexander topples the Persian emperor. In Macedonia, tension between Olympias and Alexander's regent, Antipater, forces her to return to Molossia.

317 B.C.
Six years after Alexander's death, Olympias defeats Antipater's son, Cassander. She rules Macedonia as regent for her grandson, Alexander IV.

316 B.C.
Following his victory over Olympias at Pydna, Cassander executes her. The deposed Alexander IV is killed five years later.

KINGLY APPAREL

A tetradrachm of Philip II showing the king on horseback wearing a *kausia* (felt hat) and chlamys (cape), both garments typical of Macedonian dress.

BRIDGEMAN/AC

Olympias, wife of Philip II, king of Macedonia, and mother of Alexander the Great, conqueror of the Persian Empire, was the first woman to participate actively in the political events of the Greek peninsula. Olympias was murderous, vengeful, and brave—much like her male kin—but history has not treated her as grandly. The violence of her husband and son, both responsible for hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of deaths, tends to be taken for granted—even celebrated—whereas both ancient and modern authors often fault Olympias, for not being nice. She wasn't. But neither was Philip or Alexander.

Most of the sources about Olympias, written many centuries after her death, treat her hostilely because she transgressed Greek expectations about women: They were supposed to be quiet, passive, stay out of public life, and maintain the

SPLENDOR IN EPIRUS

An impressive theater (above), was dedicated to Zeus at Dodona, in Epirus in northern Greece, where Olympias was born. The god would play a key role in the myths surrounding the conception of her son Alexander.

R. MART NA/AGE FOTOSTOCK

family. Olympias did none of those things. First-century A.D. Greek historian Plutarch wrote extensively about her, using her as a foil in his portrayal of Alexander. In Plutarch's work, Alexander controls his passions (not something Alexander much did), where Olympias is driven by them, creating a somewhat biased but vivid portrait of this trailblazing Greek woman.

Marriage Alliance

Olympias was born in the northern kingdom of Molossia in the region of Epirus around the late 370s B.C. Molossia, in what is today northwestern Greece, was a remote place, bounded by mountains on many sides. It was greener, cooler, and more watered than central and southern Greece, and famous for its oracle of Zeus at Dodona.

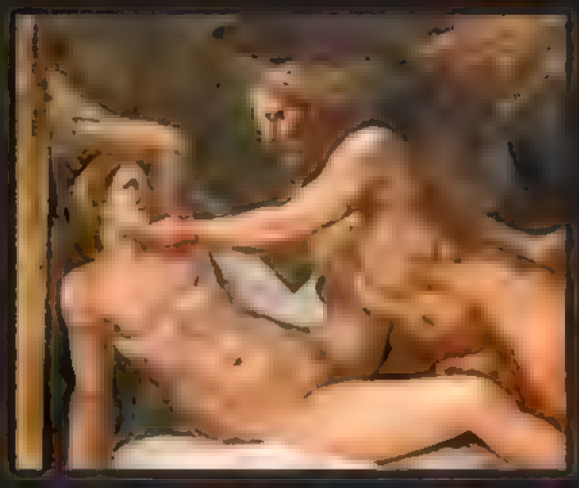
Most of the southern and central Greek peninsula was divided into city-states, some of them democracies and others more aristocratic governments. In the north, Molossia and Macedonia retained hereditary monarchies. In both governmental forms, women ordinarily played no role, apart from religion.

Members of Olympias's dynasty, the Aeacidae, believed themselves to be the descendants of the Greek hero Achilles. Olympias's father, Neoptolemus, co-ruled with his brother Arybbas, who became Olympias's guardian after her father died. The Molossians faced a threat from the Illyrians, a people from the north. A marriage alliance with another kingdom could help better protect the state. Olympias and her uncle Arybbas traveled to the distant island of Samothrace (off the coast of Macedonia), apparently to arrange her engagement to Philip II, king of Macedonia.

Philip, then about age 23, became king in 359. The Illyrians had also invaded Macedonia and killed his brother, Perdiccas III, along with 4,000 other Macedonians. Philip defeated them, drove

OLYMPIAS AND THE THUNDERBOLT OF ZEUS

BY THE END of his life, Alexander the Great was claiming that his real father was not Philip II of Macedonia, but the god Zeus. Alexander's desire to transcend the merely mortal echoes his mother's belief in her family origins: Olympias grew up believing her Molossian royal dynasty was descended from Achilles, the demigod hero of *The Iliad*. According to the first-century historian A.D. Plutarch, Olympias told her son that he had been conceived when a thunderbolt—interpreted as Zeus—entered her womb: "When she sent Alexander forth upon his great expedition, [Olympias] told him, and him alone, the secret of his begetting, and bade him have purposes worthy of his birth." Alexander, by all accounts, went on to confirm it and took a highly dangerous journey across the Libyan desert during his invasion of Egypt. He visited the oracle of Ammon-Zeus at the remote oasis of Siwa in the Libyan desert, where a priest confirmed to him that he was the son of Zeus. Plutarch also recounted a tale that relates Alexander's mother—and, implicitly, his own conception—to supernatural and mysterious forces. A serpent was once seen lying stretched out by the side of Olympias as she slept, Plutarch wrote. This perturbed Philip, who consequently was reluctant to share her bed, "either because he feared that some spells and enchantments might be practiced upon him by her, or because he shrank from her embraces in the conviction that she was the partner of a superior being."



ZEUS AND OLYMPIAS. 16TH-CENTURY FRESCO BY GIULIO ROMANO, PALAZZO TE, MANTOVA, ITALY
ERICH LESSING/ALBUM

off several claimants to the throne, but many enemies still threatened. The marriage of Olympias and Philip would unite the northern kingdoms in an alliance and enhance Philip's power.

Life at Court

By 357 B.C. Olympias had arrived in Pella (Philip's primary residence) and married him, thus becoming one of his seven wives. Macedonian kings were typically polygamous, but Philip's polygamy was on a grander scale, employed to unify his kingdom and expand his territory.

In 356 Olympias gave birth to her son Alexander; a year or two later, her daughter Cleopatra ("Cleopatra" means "fame of the father" and was a popular name among the Macedonian elite) followed. Philip had only one other son (later known as Philip III Arrhidaeus) by another wife, and it became apparent that he was mentally disabled. Alexander appeared to be the likely heir, which made Olympias the most prestigious of Philip's wives (there was no formalized chief wife). Since kings could have many sons and no formal rules for succession seem to have existed, mothers tended to become succession advocates for their sons, and Olympias became that for hers.

Olympias was not the only Molossian at the Macedonian court: Several relatives, including her brother (the future Alexander I of Molossia) soon arrived. This Molossian Alexander remained at court for a number of years. About 343, Philip forced Arybbas into exile to put Olympias's brother on the Molossian throne. This move was a logical development of the alliance that had begun years before, not necessarily a demonstration of Olympias's influence with her husband, but it did increase her prestige. Olympias remained close to her Molossian roots the rest of her life.

Maternal Maneuvers

Since Philip was frequently absent on campaign, Olympias took on a greater role in raising her son, who probably knew his mother better than his father. Plutarch described Alexander's relationship with Philip as competitive but affectionate. Philip treated Alexander like his heir. He chose Aristotle as Alexander's teacher, then left the 16-year-old in charge of Macedonia (with the assistance of his general Antipater) while Philip was off on campaign. A little later, in 338, Philip chose Alexander, then age 18, to play a decisive role in the great Macedonian victory at Chaeronea.

Yet the apparent security and prestige of Olympias and Alexander suddenly seemed to vanish on the occasion of Philip's seventh marriage to a Macedonian woman, Cleopatra Eurydice. Philip had married many times, so yet another marriage was not necessarily a problem for Alexander (he was apparently invited to the wedding festivities), but this was Philip's first marriage to a Macedonian woman, one with an ambitious guardian. It was another marriage alliance, this time an internal one.

At the wedding, the wine flowed freely for Philip and his guests. The uncle and guardian of the bride, a Macedonian general named Attalus, asked those assembled to join him in a toast that the new marriage might bring to birth a legitimate successor. Alexander sprang up enraged, demanded to know if Attalus was calling him a bastard, and threw a cup at him. Philip attempted to draw his sword on his own son and failed because he was so drunk he tripped, and Alexander mocked him. After this drunken brawl, Olympias and Alexander went back to Molossia.

Exactly what the drunken Attalus meant by his insult is unclear: He could have been charging Olympias with adultery or insinuating that Alexander, the son of a foreign woman, was

NEW NAME FOR THE QUEEN

Plutarch reported that Olympias was not the Molossian queen's given name. Philip changed it to Olympias after a chariot he sent to the games, being held in that city, won a race.

ARTHUS-BERTRAND/CORBIS/CORDON PRESS

SORCERY IN THE BEDCHAMBER

OLYMPIAS AND HER SON LIVED ON IN THE LEGENDS KNOWN AS THE ALEXANDER ROMANCE,

OLYMPIAS LISTENS TO THE EGYPTIAN PHARAOH NECTANEBO. A DETAIL FROM A MID-15TH-CENTURY MINIATURE IN *HISTOIRE D'ALEXANDRE LE GRAND*, BRITISH LIBRARY, LONDON

CORDON PRESS

Greece and Egypt

Based on a second-century A.D. Greek text written by a Hellenized Egyptian in Alexandria, versions of the Alexander romance spread through European and Middle Eastern cultures. Differing from the account by Plutarch—who describes how Olympias is impregnated by Zeus—the Alexander romance recounts how she is tricked and seduced by an Egyptian pharaoh and sorcerer, Nectanebo.

NECTANEBO CONVERSES WITH OLYMPIAS IN HER BEDCHAMBER IN A DETAIL FROM AN EARLY 15TH-CENTURY MINIATURE. BRITISH LIBRARY, LONDON

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

Sorcery and Seduction

Nectanebo arrives in the court of Macedonia and is attracted to the beautiful queen, Olympias. She, in turn, is fascinated by his accounts of sorcery. According to the Greek version of the Romance, Nectanebo tells her that the god Ammon-Zeus will appear in her bedchamber in various manifestations, including that of a serpent, and then impregnate her. The man who has sexual relations with her is Nectanebo himself.

therefore not legitimate. He simply could have meant that any child born of this new marriage to his niece would be more legitimate than Alexander. His exact meaning is difficult to ascertain, as is Philip's reasoning for supporting Attalus's very public insult of his current heir.

Murder at the Feast

Philip did mend fences, and Alexander and his mother returned to Macedonia. Philip planned a wedding extravaganza celebrating the marriage of Olympias's daughter, Cleopatra, to her uncle and Olympias's brother, the king of Molossia. The union was meant to reassure Olympias and her family and convince the Greek world generally that Philip's planned military invasion of Persia could proceed without more domestic upset.

At this moment of apparent reconciliation, Philip was suddenly assassinated by a young Macedonian noble and former lover, Pausanias. Previous Macedonian kings had been killed by family members, leading many to suspect that Olympias had arranged the murder to protect her son's claim on the throne. Some believed Alexander was in on the plot, to avenge the earlier insult and to ensure that he, rather than his father, led the upcoming invasion.

Many others would have liked to see Philip dead, likely hoping that the invasion and Macedonian dominance of the Greek peninsula would not endure. It will never be known if Pausanias had help, and if so, whose. Alexander quickly eliminated all Macedonian threats and defeated all Greek attempts to overthrow Macedonian dominance. He had Attalus killed, and Olympias—with or without Alexander's knowledge—had Philip's new wife and baby killed.

In 334 Alexander led a combined Greek and Macedonian force to Asia, leaving the general

OF QUEEN OLYMPIAS

WHOSE MAGICAL PLOTS BEWITCHED ITS MEDIEVAL READERSHIP.

Falcons and Dragons

Nectanebo reveals to Philip, who is away at war, that his wife has become pregnant in his absence. The sorcerer sends him a falcon, which reveals to the king a vision in which his wife is lying with a godlike figure. Philip returns home to discover his wife is pregnant. While the couple are attending a banquet, Nectanebo appears as a dragon and kisses her hand. Philip is now convinced that his child has been fathered by a god.

DISGUISED AS A DRAGON, NECTANEBO APPEARS TO OLYMPIAS AT A BANQUET AS HER HUSBAND PHILIP II LOOKS ON. EARLY 15TH-CENTURY MINIATURE, NATIONAL LIBRARY, PARIS

RMN-GRAND PALAIS

Birth and Murder

During Olympias's labor, Nectanebo predicts the child, who is born with golden hair, will be a world conqueror. The sorcerer stays on at court, teaching the young boy astronomy. One day, Alexander pushes him into a pit to kill him. Before he dies, Nectanebo confesses his relationship to the boy. Alexander, remorseful at having killed his father, recounts the story to Olympias, who now discovers she has been tricked.

THE NEWBORN ALEXANDER IS HELD BY ATTENDANTS, WHILE OLYMPIAS RECOVERS IN BED. DETAIL OF A LATE 15TH-CENTURY FLEMISH MINIATURE. BRITISH LIBRARY, LONDON

AKG/ALBUM

Antipater behind in apparent control of the Greek peninsula. Olympias remained in Macedonia and Alexander's sister Cleopatra, still married to her uncle, resided in Molossia.

Fighting for Influence

As Alexander's victories accumulated, Alexander sent plunder home to Olympias, and she made splendid dedications in his honor at Delphi and Athens. Tradition says that she offered advice to her son while he was away and warned him of threats. Chief among those was Antipater.

Antipater, meanwhile, was also complaining to Alexander, with equal vehemence, about Olympias. Each seems to have thought that the other was overstepping their position. Ancient authors describe Olympias as difficult and assertive and insist that Alexander tolerated his mother but did not let her affect policy. At least not at first; toward the end of his reign it was different.

By 330 quarrels with Antipater forced Olympias to retreat to Molossia. Olympias was a grandmother now: Her daughter Cleopatra had borne a son and daughter. Around 334 Cleopatra's husband left for a military expedition to Italy and died there. Cleopatra served as guardian and probably as regent for her young son, possibly sharing power with Olympias.

Meanwhile, Antipater's relationship with Alexander deteriorated, and by 325, after Alexander's return from India, rebellion began to spread in Alexander's realms. Seizing the moment, Olympias and Cleopatra formed a faction against Antipater. Plutarch claimed that they divided rule between them, with Olympias taking Epirus, and Cleopatra Macedonia, but the true details of this arrangement remain unclear.

According to Plutarch, Alexander congratulated his mother on having made the better

A CLOSE BOND

A cameo of Olympias and Alexander (below) was carved in the fourth century B.C. from sardonyx, a colorful gemstone. National Archaeological Museum, Florence

PHOTOAISA

SNAKE CHARMER AND POISONER?

CLASSICAL AUTHORS wrote about Olympias in the context of her famous son rather than as a figure in her own right. Among the best known of these histories is Plutarch's second-century biography of Alexander, which typifies the distaste that men of the period held for women who stepped outside their roles as mothers and wives. Olympias stirs up discontent in Philip's household, Plutarch wrote, because she was "a jealous and sullen woman." His portrayal goes beyond character traits: Olympias is spiritually dangerous. When she participates in the Orphic mysteries—rituals associated with the mythological figure of Orpheus—she "affected these divine possessions more zealously than other women, and carried out these divine inspirations in wilder fashion, used to provide the revelling companies with great tame serpents." These snakes would poke their heads from the garlands of the women, "thus terrifying the men." Plutarch's Olympias is a woman whom men have reason to fear. Alexander's half brother Arrhidaeus—a dynastic rival to Alexander and Olympias—was mentally deficient. "As a boy he displayed a gifted and noble disposition: but afterwards Olympias gave him drugs which injured his body and ruined his mind." Plutarch also believed that, although Olympias did not kill Philip II, she helped stir up his assassin. Modern historians concede that Olympias did kill Philip's new bride, but they recognize the act was no more ruthlessly pragmatic than those committed by the men around her, including her son.

THE BODY OF OLYMPIAS FOLLOWING HER EXECUTION. 15TH-CENTURY MINIATURE. BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD, ENGLAND
ART ARCHIVE

choice since the Macedonians would never endure being ruled by a woman. Not long after, Alexander ordered Antipater to turn his position over and meet him in Babylon. When, months later in June 323, Alexander died in Babylon, Antipater was still in his old position, though several of his sons, including Alexander's cupbearer, were with Alexander. His sudden death made many, including Olympias, suspect that Antipater's family had poisoned him. Historians doubt that Alexander was murdered, but as with the death of Philip, little can be certain.

Empire in Chaos

The death of her son left Olympias in a precarious position. Alexander left behind no obvious heir. It was decided that the unborn child of Roxanne, one of Alexander's wives, would co-rule with Alexander's half brother, the mentally disabled Philip III Arrhidaeus, and a regent would be appointed. Roxanne gave birth to a boy, Alexander IV, but succession would be anything but smooth.

Alexander's generals, "the successors," fought fiercely among themselves to establish control over the empire. They broke into competing factions, each one controlling a different region. Antipater managed to hold on to Macedonia, and Olympias kept a safe distance in Molossia. Without Alexander, Olympias needed military protection from her family. Aeacides, Olympias's nephew, seems to have become co-king with Alexander IV, Olympias's young grandson, around this time.

Antipater died in 319, and the new regent, Polyperchon, urged Olympias to return to Macedonia to care for her grandson Alexander IV. Antipater had passed over his own son, Cassander, and named Polyperchon as his successor. The two men were at odds, and Polyperchon

knew an alliance with Olympias could be useful. She refused for several years, not trusting any of the successors, but relented out of fear that Philip III Arrhidaeus and his Argead wife, Adea Eurydice (allies with Cassander), would kill Alexander IV.

In fall of 317, Olympias appeared in Macedonia at the head of an army with Polyperchon and her nephew Aeacides, and Adea Eurydice met her with her forces: Greek historian Duris of Samos called it the first war between women. Supposedly Olympias dressed as a Bacchant, and when the Macedonian army saw her, it threw its support to her. She killed Philip and Adea Eurydice, as well as a number of Cassander's supporters.

Olympias's success did not last because Polyperchon proved a bad general and Cassander an excellent one. His victories eroded public support for Olympias and Alexander IV. Cassander besieged Olympias at Pydna, and she surrendered, Cassander put her on trial, refused to let her speak, and had her executed. Olympias went to her death with courage. The Argead dynasty, for practical purposes, ended with her death, although Cassander waited a few years before he murdered Alexander IV.

Standing at the beginning of a long line of powerful women, Olympias set a precedent for women in Hellenistic monarchies: It became almost the norm for women to appear with armies, co-rule, and engage in fierce succession battles. Cleopatra III of Egypt co-ruled with one son, expelled him and co-ruled with another, who subsequently murdered her in 101 B.C. Cleopatra VII (the Great) fought two of her brothers, secured the throne of Egypt for herself, and lost it to Rome in 30 B.C.—ending the line that started with Olympias centuries before.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT CLEMSON UNIVERSITY **ELIZABETH CARNEY** IS ONE OF THE WORLD'S FOREMOST AUTHORITIES ON OLYMPIAS.

CRADLE OF A CONQUEROR

The site of Pella, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Macedonia, today lies in northern Greece. Here, Olympias lived as a wife of Philip II before giving birth to Alexander in 356 B.C.

DEA/ALBUM

GENERATION TO GENERATION
A first-century B.C. statue of a Roman nobleman bearing the heads of his ancestors reflects the hereditary nature of citizenship. The letters SPQR (opposite) stand for *Senatus populusque Romanus* ("The Senate and the People of Rome"), the basis of the Roman Republic.

STATUE: SCALA, FLORENCE. SPQR: MARKA/AGE FOTOSTOCK

ROMAN CITIZENSHIP

PRIZE OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

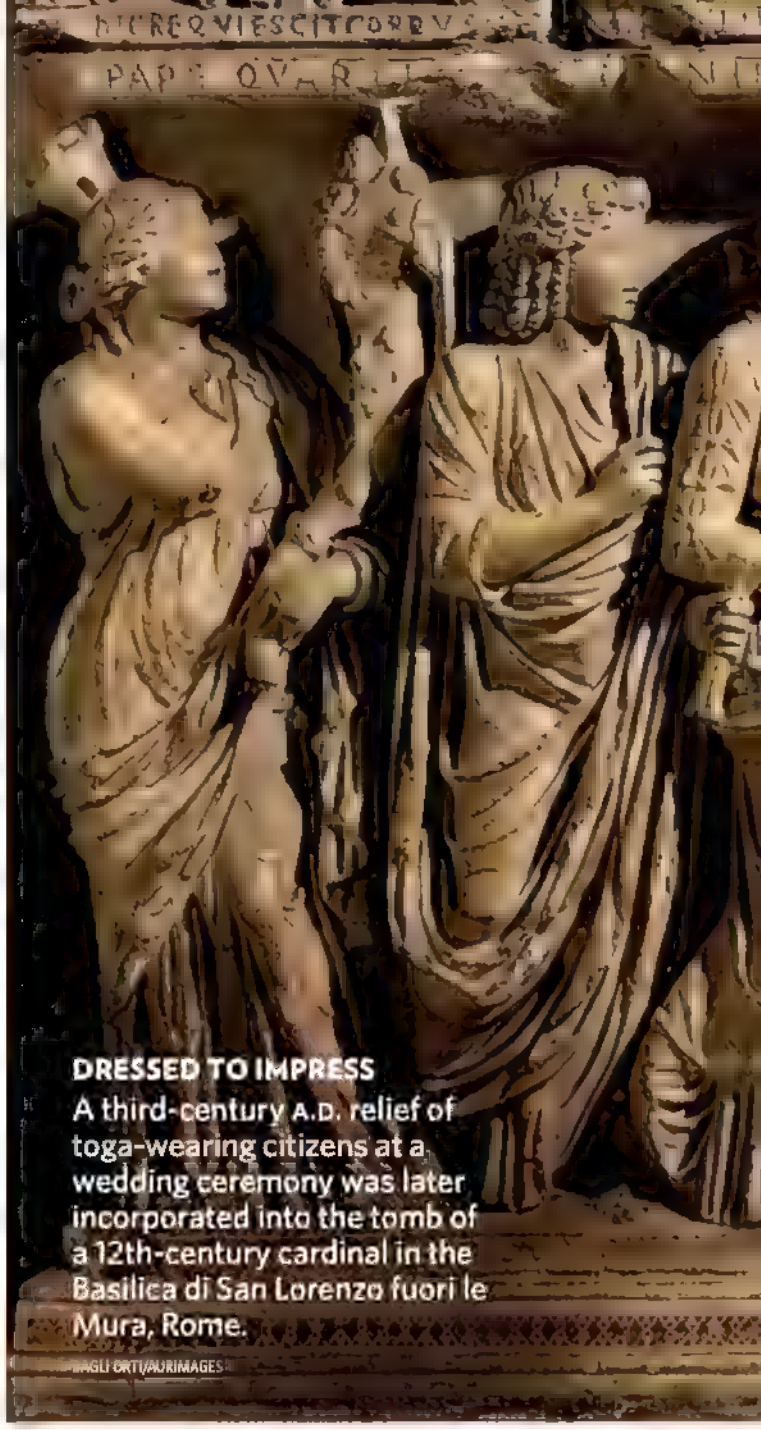
From the days of the Republic to the height of the Empire, *civitas*—full Roman citizenship—was prized by those who had it and coveted by those who did not. As Rome grew, concepts of citizenship expanded as well, causing tension in an expanding empire.

CLELIA MARTÍNEZ MAZA

"I AM A ROMAN!"

A 17th-century painting (above) by the Neapolitan artist Bernardo Cavallino shows the legendary Roman hero G.M. Scaevola standing firm before the enemy king, Lars Porsena.

ALAMY/CORDON PRESS



DRESSED TO IMPRESS
A third-century A.D. relief of toga-wearing citizens at a wedding ceremony was later incorporated into the tomb of a 12th-century cardinal in the Basilica di San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, Rome.

DAGLI ORTI/AURIMAGES

Gaius Mucius Scaevola was a legendary Roman hero, who attempted to assassinate the enemy Etruscan king Lars Porsena in the sixth-century B.C. When Scaevola failed to kill the king, he was captured and brought before Lars. But instead of pleading for clemency, Scaevola declared boldly: *Romanus sum*—I am a Roman, before delivering a stirring speech on the bravery of his people. The king was so impressed that, the story goes, he let Scaevola go.

Later in Roman history, Romans could declare pride in their state by using a slightly different formulation: *Civis Romanus Sum* which means "I am a Roman citizen." This phrase was not only an expression of deeply felt national pride, but also a declaration that an individual had special status within the world and was a recipient of rights and privileges—granted in return for weighty obligations.

Roman citizenship was a complex concept that varied according to one's gender, parentage, and social status. Full citizenship could only be claimed by males. A child born of a legitimate union between citizen father and mother would acquire citizenship at birth. In theory, freeborn Roman women were regarded as Roman citizens; in practice, however, they could not hold office or vote, activities considered key aspects of citizenship.

Citizenship simplified and improved Romans' everyday lives in different ways. It also offered protection. When Gaius Verres, the governor of

RIGHTS OF ROMANS

90 B.C.

The *lex Iulia de civitate Latinis et sociis danda,* grants qualified Roman citizenship to the cities that remained faithful to Rome during the so-called Social War (90-89 BC).

89 B.C.

Another consequence of the Social War, the *lex Plautia Papiria* grants qualified citizenship—dependent on strict conditions—to towns that had rebelled against Roman rule.

MARSIC COIN. THE MARSI WERE ENEMIES OF ROME IN THE SOCIAL WAR. THEIR SYMBOL, THE BULL, IS DEPICTED HERE CHARGING AT THE ROMAN WOLF

GRANGER/AURIMAGES

SIGN OF A CITIZEN

UNWRAPPING THE TOGA

Only citizens had the right to wear the toga, the quintessential Roman garment that was placed over the tunic and covered the body and shoulders. Large, woolen, and oval-shaped, the toga was time-consuming to put on, and left one arm immobilized under its complex folds. For anyone engaging in physical work, the toga was restrictive and impractical, so by the late republic, it had become unpopular as everyday clothing. As the only outward sign of Roman citizenship, it still played a powerful ceremonial and ritual role. After puberty, boys swapped the purple trimmed *toga praetexta* for the plain *toga virilis* of a man. The white toga (*toga candida*) was the most distinctive of the various styles and was worn by those aspiring to political office as an indication of the purity of their intentions. This is where the term "candidate" comes from.

Sicily was on trial for extortion in 70 B.C., the orator and lawyer Cicero, acting as prosecutor, appealed to the rights inherent in citizenship to strengthen his case against the governor. Cicero described the severe punishments Verres had inflicted on a prisoner, despite the victim repeatedly insisting that he was a Roman citizen, a status that should have protected him from torture. So persuasive were Cicero's arguments against Verres that he was exiled.

Rights and Responsibilities

Citizenship has its roots in Rome's deep past. In the sixth century B.C., Rome passed from a monarchy to a republic with power residing in the Senate and the People of Rome. The acronym SPQR stands for *Senatus populusque Romanus* and can be seen emblazoned on many Roman structures built during the Republic as a sign of pride in the duties of civic life.

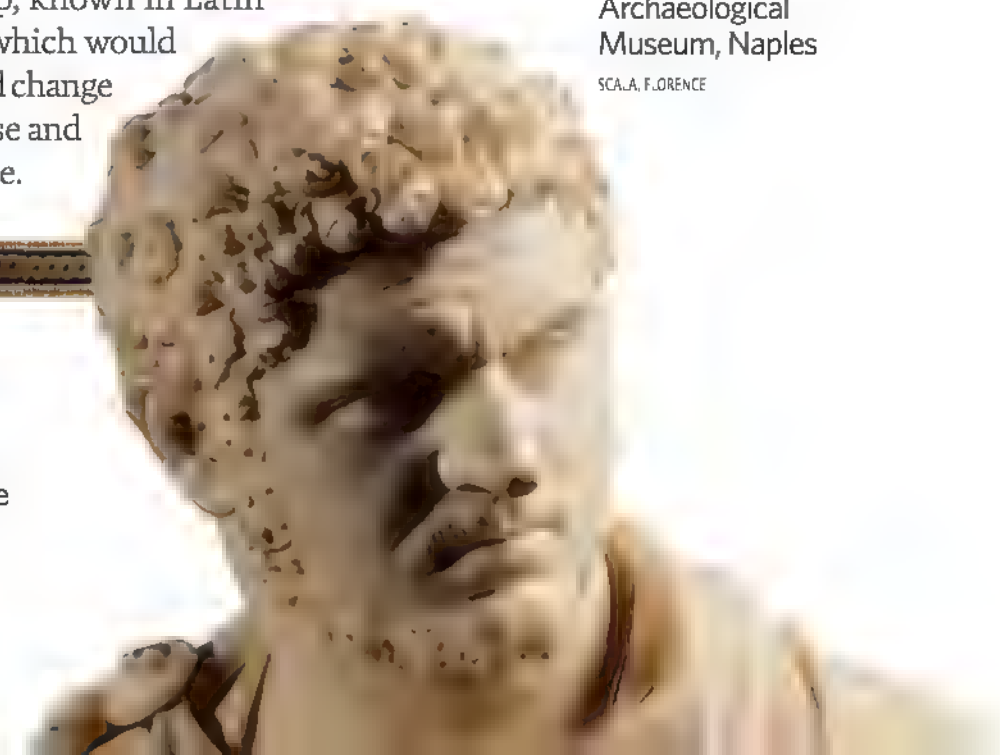
Roman men had the right to vote and also bore serious responsibilities: They should be prepared to die, if necessary, in the service of Rome. This connection between rights and responsibilities created the concept of Roman citizenship, known in Latin as *civitas*, which would expand and change over the rise and fall of Rome.

49 B.C.

At the beginning of the civil war between Julius Caesar and Pompey, Caesar promotes the *lex Roscia*, by which Roman citizenship is granted to the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul (northern Italy).

A.D. 212

An edict known as the *Constitutio Antoniniana de Civitate* is issued by the Emperor Caracalla granting Roman citizenship to all free men who live within the Roman Empire



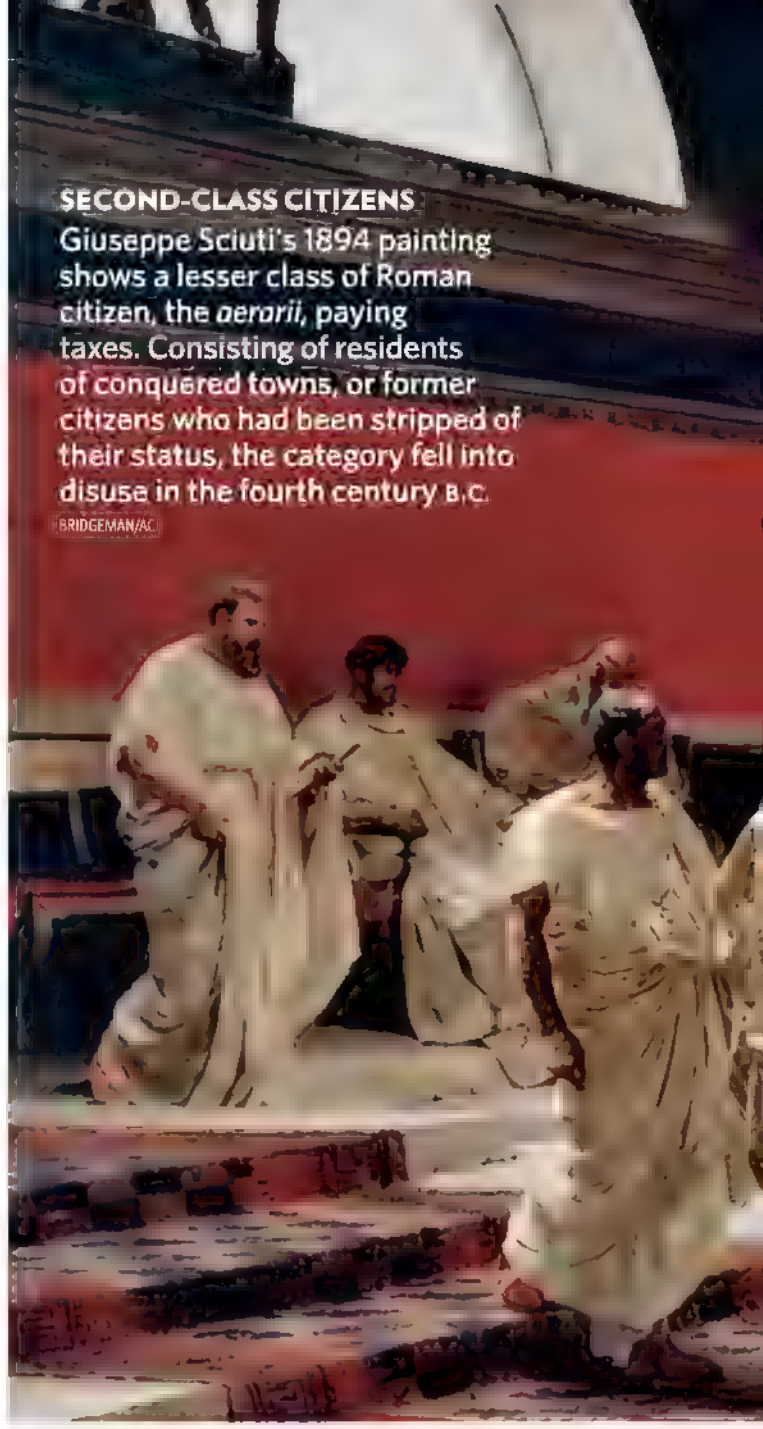
SWELLING THE RANKS

A bust depicts the third-century Emperor Caracalla (below), whose extension of citizenship to all free inhabitants of the empire expanded both Rome's tax base and potential recruits to the army. National Archaeological Museum, Naples

SCALA, FLORENCE

ROMAN CITIZENS REGISTER FOR M LITARY SERVICE N THIS MARBLE RELIEF FROM THE SECOND CENTURY B.C. LOUVRE MUSEUM, PARIS

H. .EWANDOWSKI, RMN-GRAND PA..A S



SECOND-CLASS CITIZENS Giuseppe Sciuti's 1894 painting shows a lesser class of Roman citizen, the *aerarii*, paying taxes. Consisting of residents of conquered towns, or former citizens who had been stripped of their status, the category fell into disusa in the fourth century B.C.

BRIDGEMAN/AC

CASTING A VOTE Roman citizens vote on a denarius (below) from the late second-century B.C. A voter (left) receives a tablet from the rogator (center). Votes are cast by placing the tablet in a basket, known as the *cista* (right).

BR DGEMAN/ACI

In practice, the plebeians (the general citizenry) had fewer voting rights than the aristocratic patricians. But the principle that a man of modest means could regard himself as much a Roman citizen as an aristocratic landowner was a powerful one. It helped forge a sense of unity and Roman identity.

The privileges enjoyed by full citizens were wide-ranging: They could vote in assemblies and elections; own property; get married legally; have their children inherit property; stand for election and access public office; participate in priesthoods; and enlist in the legion. Male citizens could also engage in commercial activity in Roman territory.

In return for such rights, citizens were obliged to contribute to military expenditure in proportion to their wealth. By law they had to register in the census so that the state could calculate which social class they belonged to based on their wealth.

As Rome began to expand in Italy, it faced the question of whether or not to grant this coveted civitas status to the non-Roman communities it was conquering. Such a gesture might have helped consolidate loyalty in certain circumstances, but it also removed an ethnic dimension from citizenship, an idea that unsettled many Romans.

An early example of the expansion of civitas to non-Roman peoples took place in the fourth century B.C., when Rome had granted a diluted form of citizenship to the Etruscan city of Caere, around 35 miles from Rome. As the conquest of Italy continued, Rome gave its newly subdued peoples a similar package of diluted rights, which often excluded the right to vote.

Resentment grew among the conquered peoples. Many felt they were shouldering responsibilities, such as military service, without receiving their fair share of privileges. The situation came to a head with the Social War of the first-century B.C., a series of revolts against Roman rule in central Italy. In order to quell them, laws were passed to grant citizenship to all those who opposed the revolt, or to rebels who were willing to lay down arms. The gesture was regarded as a success: The revolt was successfully terminated soon after.

New Rights, Old Discrimination

Even as more and more men were granted this and other forms of civitas, women, however,

ROMAN NAMES

WHAT'S IN A NAME

The formula used for naming male citizens usually consisted of three elements. The *nomen* identified the extended family to which the individual belonged, and was the only name assigned to women (e.g.: Claudia, Livia). The *praenomen* was given at birth, the proper name by which the male citizen would be known within the family. The *cognomen* could often be inspired by a physical trait: Maximus (tall or large) or Cicero (chickpea, perhaps in reference to a facial defect). Exceptional citizens might be awarded a fourth element, the *agnomen*: The general Scipio, for example (right) was awarded the agnomen "Africanus" following his defeat of Hannibal in 202 B.C.

PUBLIUS

PRAENOMEN: Publius

CORNELIUS

NOMEN: Cornelius (of the gens Cornelia)

SCIPIO

COGNOMEN: Scipio
"He who bears the staff [of authority]"

AFRICANUS

AGNOMEN: The African
(awarded following his defeat of Hannibal in Africa)

BOYS TO MEN

THE FESTIVAL OF the Liberalia was celebrated in Rome on March 17 every year in honor of Liber Pater, the god associated with wine and the cult of Bacchus. On this day, free-born citizen boys (age anywhere between 14 and 17) marked their passage from childhood to manhood, the point in life when they formally took up their citizenship. At home, the bulla (amulet) that had been worn by boys since babyhood was offered to the *Lares* (the protective deities of the house). The boy then undressed in front of his family to demonstrate that he had reached puberty. Next, his father gave him the white *toga virilis* that defined him as an adult citizen. From this day on, he could participate in his civic duties and privileges.

A PROTECTIVE AMULET, CALLED A BULLA, WAS GIVEN TO MALE CHILDREN SOON AFTER BIRTH. GOLD BULLA, FIRST CENTURY A.D. NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, NAPLES

DEA/ALBUM

THE ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE, CONSECRATED IN 13 B.C., BEARS FRIEZES DEPICTING MEMBERS OF EMPEROR AUGUSTUS' FAMILY. THE CHILD AT THE CENTER OF THE IMAGE, GERMANICUS, SPORTS THE BULLA AMULET AND TOGA PRAETEXTA WORN BY SONS OF ROMAN CITIZENS.

SCALA, FLORENCE

SCALA, FLORENCE

THE MEN IN THEIR LIVES

A first-century A.D. fresco (above) from Pompeii shows a young girl being presented to a magistrate by her male guardian. After women married, they would become subject to the authority of their husbands.

MOONDADORI/ALBUM

continued to be excluded from many of the privileges of citizenship. Even in the later imperial period, the jurist Ulpian wrote: "Women are barred from all civil and public functions and therefore cannot be judges or hold a magistracy or bring a lawsuit or intervene on behalf of anyone else or act as procurators."

Although they were excluded from public office and politics, freeborn Roman women could claim some benefits of being a citizen. Female citizens could own assets, dispose of them as they wished, participate in contracts and manage their properties with complete autonomy, unless these activities required legal action, in which case the guardian had to intervene.

Some female citizens managed huge fortunes, such as those that appear in epigrams by the first century poet Martial. Taking a sardonic tone, Martial mainly depicts rich, childless widows, whom he mocks as easy prey for gold diggers.

There is evidence, too, of wealthy female citizens running businesses in the provinces governed by Rome. The New Testament notes that Lydia, who welcomed Saint Paul and his companions to Phillipi (Macedonia), was involved with the lucrative purple-dying business.

Nevertheless, the inability of women to enjoy the same rights enjoyed by male citizens marked their lives from cradle to grave. These limitations are even reflected in their names. Unlike male citizens, women did not use the *tria nomina*, or three-part name. All the women from the same *gens*, or family, were called by a feminine or diminutive version of the male's name. For example, the daughter of Claudius would be called Claudia. If Claudius had two daughters, the elder one would be Claudia Major, or Maxima, and the younger, Claudia Minor. If there were several sisters, ordinals could be used, Claudia Tertia, Claudia Quarta, etc.

Citizenship, in the full sense, represented an individual's ability to act freely in various areas of civic life. A Roman woman, however, did not have her own *potestas* (legal power or agency); she was subject to the authority of her father and then of her husband.

If she was left without father or husband, she would come under the power of a male guardian who would take control of her property and carry out certain legal transactions for her. This male guardian had to grant formal consent for her actions.

Jurists of the time argued that this subjugation was legitimate due to the widely accepted preju-

OUTSIDE ROME

PROVINCIAL EMPEROR

Second of Rome's "Five Good Emperors," Trajan was the first emperor to be born outside of Italy. Trajan's ancestors hailed from Umbria, but his father, a soldier and politician, was born and raised in the Roman province of Baetica in Spain. Because of his family's Italian roots, Trajan was considered a full citizen. During his reign as emperor, Trajan expanded the boundaries of the empire to their farthest reaches. Perhaps his most famous campaigns were against the Dacians, a people who lived in a mineral-rich area that corresponds to modern Romania. Completed in A.D. 113, Trajan's Column commemorates his conquest of Dacia and features meticulously detailed scenes (left)that depict memorable episodes from the two campaigns, including marches, preparations, battles, negotiations, sacrifices, and speeches delivered by Trajan.

dices of the time. Women were considered weaker, ignorant of legal matters, and lacking in judgment. Having no legal authority, women could not assume the role of head of the family. If they became widows they could not adopt children or exercise guardianship over any other member of the family, including their own children.

During the late republic, a male slave had more prospects of benefitting from the status of citizenship than his wealthy Roman mistress. If he was granted his freedom, a male slave could then claim the right to be a citizen and could pass this status on to his children. One slave who later became a citizen was Tiro, the loyal scribe of Cicero, who, once freed, retired to his estate as a wealthy man.

From Soldier to Citizen

The military provided another route for non-Romans to secure citizenship. As membership of the legion itself was reserved for citizens, a *peregrinus* (foreigner) could only be recruited into the auxiliary units. But on completing 25 years of service, he would be granted Roman citizenship as a reward when he graduated. He could then enjoy all the advantages of his new status, including *conubium*, the right to contract a legal marriage with a foreign woman.

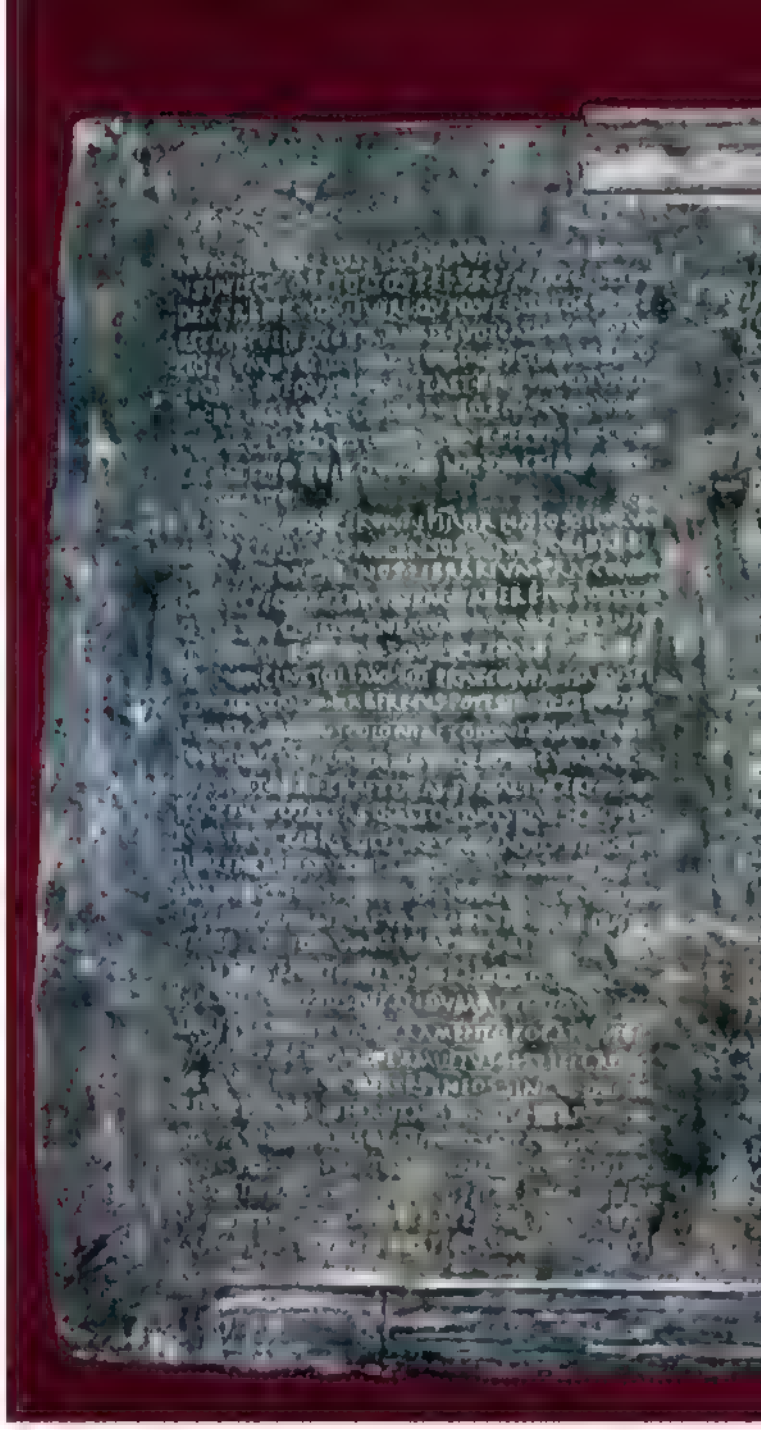
The *peregrini* could also obtain the right of citizenship by individual or collective concession, sometimes as a reward for exceptional military action. In 89 B.C., the commander-in-chief of the army, Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo (father of Pompey the Great), granted citizenship to a squadron of 30 Hispanic horsemen known as the *turma Salluitana* to reward their valor in helping to capture Asculum (modern Ascoli Piceno, Italy), a stronghold of the rebels during the Social War of the first-century B.C.

CIVIC CROWNS SUCH AS THIS ONE WERE AWARDED TO ROMANS WHO SAVED THE LIFE OF A FELLOW CITIZEN IN BATTLE. MUSEO DELLA CIVILTA' ROMANA, ROME

DEA/SCALA, FLORENCE

A SECOND-CENTURY A.D. ROMAN AMPHITHEATER STANDS IN ITALICA (NEAR SEVILLE, SPAIN), WHICH WAS THE BIRTHPLACE OF TWO OF ROME'S "GOOD EMPERORS": TRAJAN AND HADRIAN

ALBUM/PRISMA

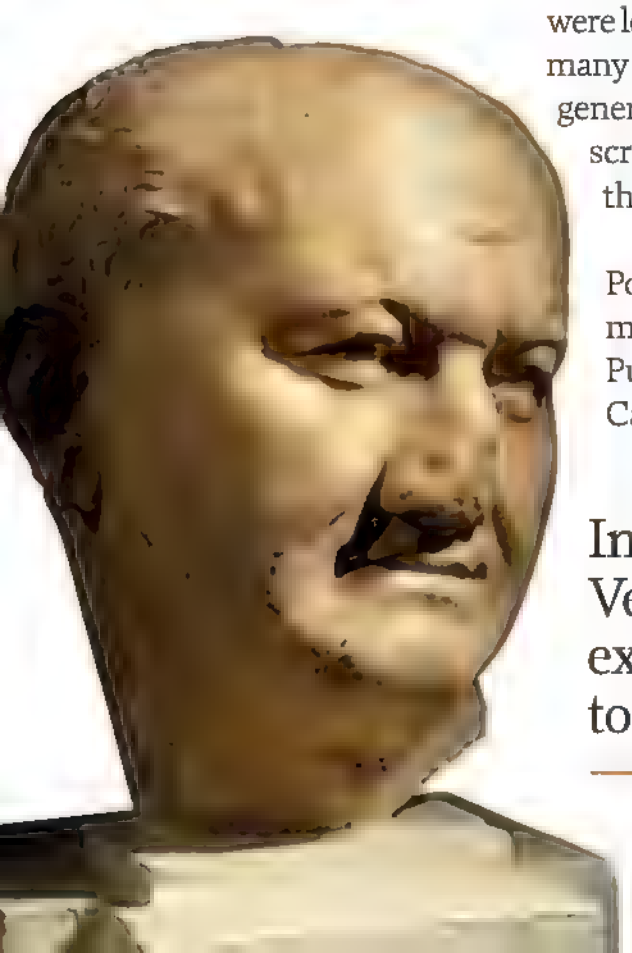


SEGP/A..BUM

EXPANDING RIGHTS

Emperor Vespasian (shown in a first-century A.D. bust below) extended the Latin rights, a qualified form of citizenship, to communities in modern Spain. Hippone Museum, Annaba, Algeria

DEA/A.BUM



By dangling the promise of obtaining citizenship, Roman generals reinforced the loyalty of auxiliary troops in the provinces. Thus, a relationship—such as that between a patron and dependent—could be created between a general and his army.

Being able to call on these loyal troops proved an invaluable resource during civil wars. When Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius and Pompey joined forces to fight the threat of Quintus Sertorius in Hispania (Spain) from 75 B.C., both generals granted citizenship to peregrini there who were loyal to their cause. On gaining citizenship, many soldiers often named themselves for the generals who had granted it. A number of inscriptions have been found in Spain bearing the names Caecilius and Pompey.

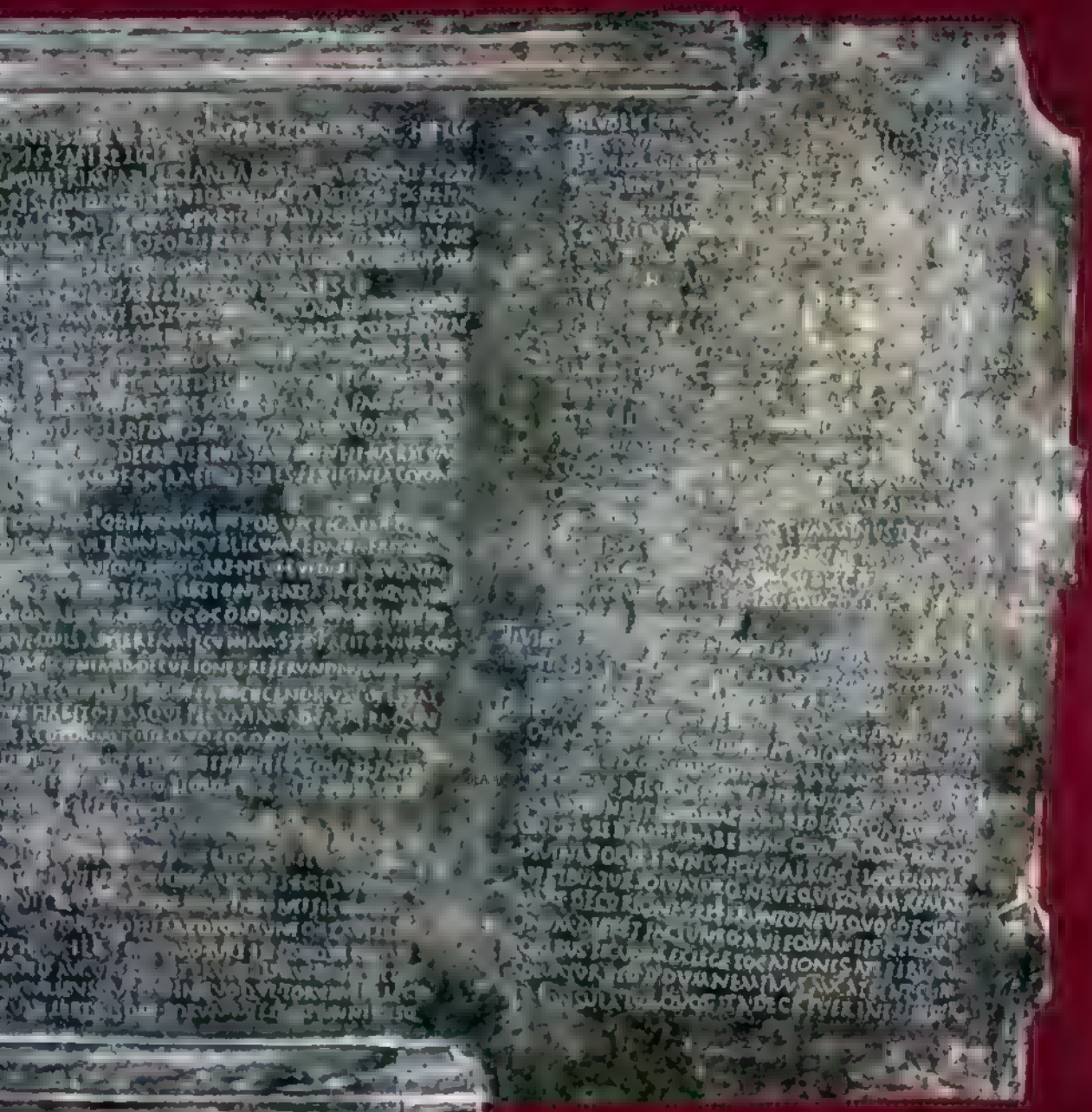
Among those granted citizenship by Pompey was one Lucius Cornelius Balbus, member of a powerful merchant family of Punic origin who settled in Gades (modern Cadiz in southern Spain). Balbus's enemies accused him of usurping Roman citizenship and in 55 B.C. he was put on trial. Cicero acted as his defence and Balbus was acquitted. Balbus became consul of Rome in 40 B.C. and eventually a confidante of Julius Caesar, to the point that he managed Caesar's private fortune.

In A.D. 74, Emperor Vespasian further expanded Latin rights to Hispania.

Citizens of Empire

During the rule of Julius Caesar in the first century B.C., a law was passed granting Roman citizenship to colonies and municipia in Cisalpine Gaul (northern Italy), the first time this right had been expanded beyond Roman Italy. This qualified form of citizenship was known as *Jus Latii*, often referred to in English as Latin rights. It gave holders the right to enter into Roman legal contracts and the right to legal intermarriage.

In A.D. 74, Emperor Vespasian further expanded Latin rights to Hispania. Communities in modern-day Spain and Portugal were granted qualified citizenship in the form of Latin rights, the same status that had been extended to Italian settlements during the period of Julius Caesar the century before. The edict was another major



LEX URSONENSIS

A CITIZENS' CHARTER

This bronze tablet, one of four found in 1870-71 at the site of the Roman city of Urso (near Osuna in southern Spain) is the foundation charter of the city. Known as the *Lex Ursonensis* or Law of Colonia Genetiva Julia, it was drafted by Julius Caesar and came into force under the rule of Mark Antony following Caesar's assassination in 44 B.C. The charter includes regulations about life in the city, from managing public works and the election of magistrates to the payment of taxes. One of the few colonies founded in Hispania by Julius Caesar, Urso was also known as Colonia Genetiva Julia, a name that honored Venus Genetrix, believed to be a divine ancestor and protector of the family to which Caesar belonged. Urso was one of only nine colonies of Roman citizens out of around a total of 175 in southern Spain. Over a century later, in A.D. 74, Vespasian would extend citizenship across Hispania.

step forward in the continuing Romanization of an empire about to reach its maximum bounds.

Subsequent emperors continued this process, little by little bestowing citizenship across the Roman world. In imperial times, any Roman citizen from any part of the Empire facing trial could express their desire to appeal directly to Caesar.

The most famous example of a citizen invoking this right is the apostle Paul. Born a Jew in 4 B.C. in Tarsus in modern-day Turkey, Paul—a Latinized form of his Hebrew name, Saul—was a Roman citizen. Following his arrest by the Romans in A.D. 59, Paul used his status to dramatically halt his trial before Porcius Festus, the governor of Judaea: "Festus, when he had conferred with the council, answered, 'You have appealed to Caesar? To Caesar you shall go!'" (Acts 25:12). Paul was transferred to Rome, where he stayed for several years before his martyrdom there.

The final step toward extending Roman citizenship to nearly all the subject peoples of the empire came with the Edict of Caracalla. Promulgated in A.D. 212, it granted citizenship to all the free men of the Roman Empire.

Historians point out that this decidedly bold move was not as enlightened as it may appear. Caracalla was a spendthrift and unstable ruler, and extending citizenship to the huge populations that inhabited his mighty realm was a quick way to increase his tax base.

Even so, the concept that people from different ethnic backgrounds can share the same rights, responsibilities, and sense of national pride under the umbrella of citizenship, is as stirring a notion now as it was for many Romans two millennia ago. The century before Caracalla's edict, the orator Aelius Aristides made a speech in Rome sketching out this lofty vision: "And neither does the sea nor a great expanse of intervening land keep one from being a citizen; nor here are Asia and Europe distinguished. But all lies open to all men. No one is a foreigner. . . and just as the earth's ground support all men, so Rome too receives men from every land."

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ABBEY WITH ARCHES

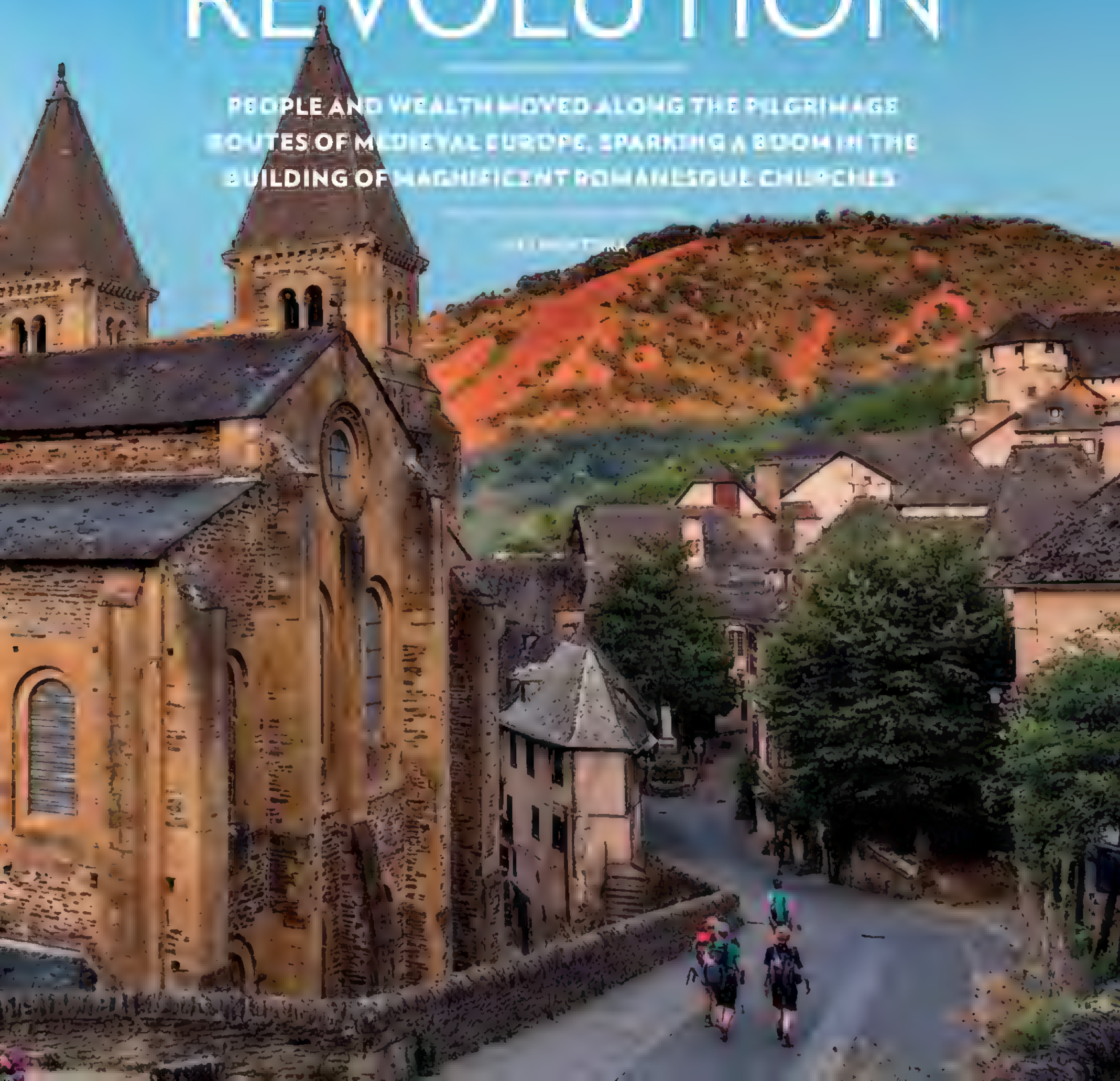
Begun around 1040, the Church of Sainte-Foy at Conques in southern France is one of the earliest surviving examples of the Romanesque style that would spread across Western Europe.

JEAN-MARC SARRERE/CORDON PRESS

SACRED SPACES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

ROMANESQUE REVOLUTION

PEOPLE AND WEALTH MOVED ALONG THE PILGRIMAGE ROUTES OF MEDIEVAL EUROPE, SPARKING A BOOM IN THE BUILDING OF MAGNIFICENT ROMANESQUE CHURCHES



Christian Europe experienced an upsurge in confidence in the 11th century. In 1095 Pope Urban II rejuvenated the church by launching the successful First Crusade to wrest the Holy Land from Islam. All over Europe, Christians were traveling to sites on pilgrimages to view holy relics and sacred objects. These journeys were growing in popularity, as they disseminated people, ideas, and money from place to place.

Borne along on the tide of these changes, a new architectural style was spreading across Europe. Cladding the Christian lands with "a white mantle of churches," in the words of the 11th-century Cluniac monk Radulfus Glaber, similar building traits could be seen along these pilgrimage paths. Characterized by rounded arches, sturdy stone columns, and ornate carvings depicting biblical stories, this new style was dubbed "Romanesque" by later historians.It was not Roman in the classical or pagan sense but used the concept of a Roman basilica as a foundation. These buildings' structure and ornamentation reflected an idea of Roman monumentality, but these new sacred spaces were Christian, reflecting the spread of this faith across Europe.

Being a Pilgrim

The popularity of pilgrimages was a key factor in the spread, and uniformity, of the Romanesque style. To travel to Jerusalem was far too difficult for most pilgrims. A European destination was much more realistic. One that gained widespread popularity in the 11th century was the shrine of St. James in northwestern Spain.

This region of Spain had recently been reclaimed by Christian forces in the early phases of the Reconquista, Christian Spain's gradual "reconquest" of the peninsula from Muslim Moorish powers. Tradition holds that a ninth-century hermit saw a light over open countryside marking the spot of the resting place of the Apostle James. The shrine that grew on the site was called Sanctus Iacobus (Latin for St. James) de Campus Stellae ("of the field of the star"), a name which later derived into Santiago de Compostela.

A pilgrimage route arose as Christian travelers trekked from all across Europe to the

GATEWAY OF GLORY
Showing his pierced hands, the risen Christ crowns the late Romanesque Portico of Glory at the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, Spain. Carved by Master Mateo in the late 1100s, the granite figures have recently been restored to their former polychrome glory.

PHOTO COURTESY OF FUNDACIÓN BARRIÉ
©FUNDACIÓN BARRIÉ/FUNDACIÓN CATEDRAL DE SANTIAGO

SPREAD OF ROMANESQUE SPLENDOR

800s
As Christians begin to drive Muslim forces from northern Spain, a hermit's vision of St. James's grave is the basis of a new shrine at Santiago de Compostela.

1040s
The Romanesque style crystallizes in the Church of Sainte-Foy at Conques on the French pilgrimage route to Santiago.

1070s
Work begins on the Basilica of Saint-Sernin, Toulouse, and the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.

1100
Key monuments of Norman-Romanesque architecture are completed in England and Sicily.

1150s
The pointed arch and rib vault, characteristic of the new Gothic style, begin to replace the Romanesque.

1160s
Master Mateo works on the sculptures on the Portico of Glory of Santiago de Compostela Cathedral.

shrine of St. James in Santiago. A magnificent Romanesque cathedral was built over the site of the tomb in the mid-11th century. Now a UNESCO world heritage site, the cathedral was expanded. The Portico of Glory, a late Romanesque, triple archway carved with ornate, painted figures based on the theme of the Last Judgment was added in the 12th century.

Medieval pilgrims brought wealth to the cities along their journey, and the cities that lay along the routes to Santiago were able to build or beautify their own churches and cathedrals in the Romanesque style. Some of these became showcases for local saints' relics, whose fame attracted ever more pilgrims.

Santiago de Compostela was built almost exactly at the same time as the Basilica of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse, France. Other Romanesque structures on France's various Santiago routes include Sainte-Foy, an abbey church at Conques in southern France, and the Basilica of Saint-Martin at Tours to the southwest of Paris. On the way to Santiago across northern Spain, a major stopping-off point was the city of León, whose Collegiate Church of San Isidoro contains a wealth of late Romanesque frescoes.

A Return to Stone

The Romanesque style also proliferated in Germany, with examples found at Mainz and Speyer. The Romanesque merged with other styles, such as the Norman architecture found in England following the 1066 Norman conquest. The Norman occupation of Sicily led to a fusion of north and south: The Norman-Romanesque cathedral of Monreale incorporates elements of Byzantine and Muslim architecture.

The dramatic rise in church-building that began in the 11th century was made possible in part by the revival of the production of stone for construction purpose. Stonecutting had fallen into abeyance during the early Middle Ages, when blocks from old edifices were reused. Thanks to the industry of the stonemasons, there are probably more existing buildings in the Romanesque style than of any other architectural movement in Europe, a stylistic unity that ranges across rural parish churches, abbeys, basilicas, and cathedrals.

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HOLY IMAGES
The Collegiate Church of San Isidoro in León, northern Spain, was a major staging post for pilgrims on their way to Santiago. Built in the Romanesque style in the 11th century following the expulsion of Muslim forces from León, it is adorned with a wealth of late Romanesque frescoes, such as the figure of Christ in Majesty.

LUIS CASTAÑEDA/AGE FOTOSTOCK

1

SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA: PLACE OF PILGRIMAGE

A hermit's vision revealed that the tomb of St. James was located in northwestern Spain. A church was built there in the ninth century, on the future site of the city of Santiago de Compostela. In 997 Abu Amir al-Mansur, the Muslim caliph of Córdoba (in southern Spain), invaded the Christian north and destroyed the church at Santiago. He removed the church bells, took them back to Córdoba, and melted them down to make lamps for the Great Mosque there. In the 1070s, as the Christian reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula spread, Alfonso VI of Castile and León ordered the building of a new cathedral in the Romanesque style. The new, larger structure would admit more pilgrims visiting the site to view holy relics of St James. Although much of the Romanesque structure is still clearly visible, the original twin towers were replaced by baroque structures that still dominate the city's skyline.

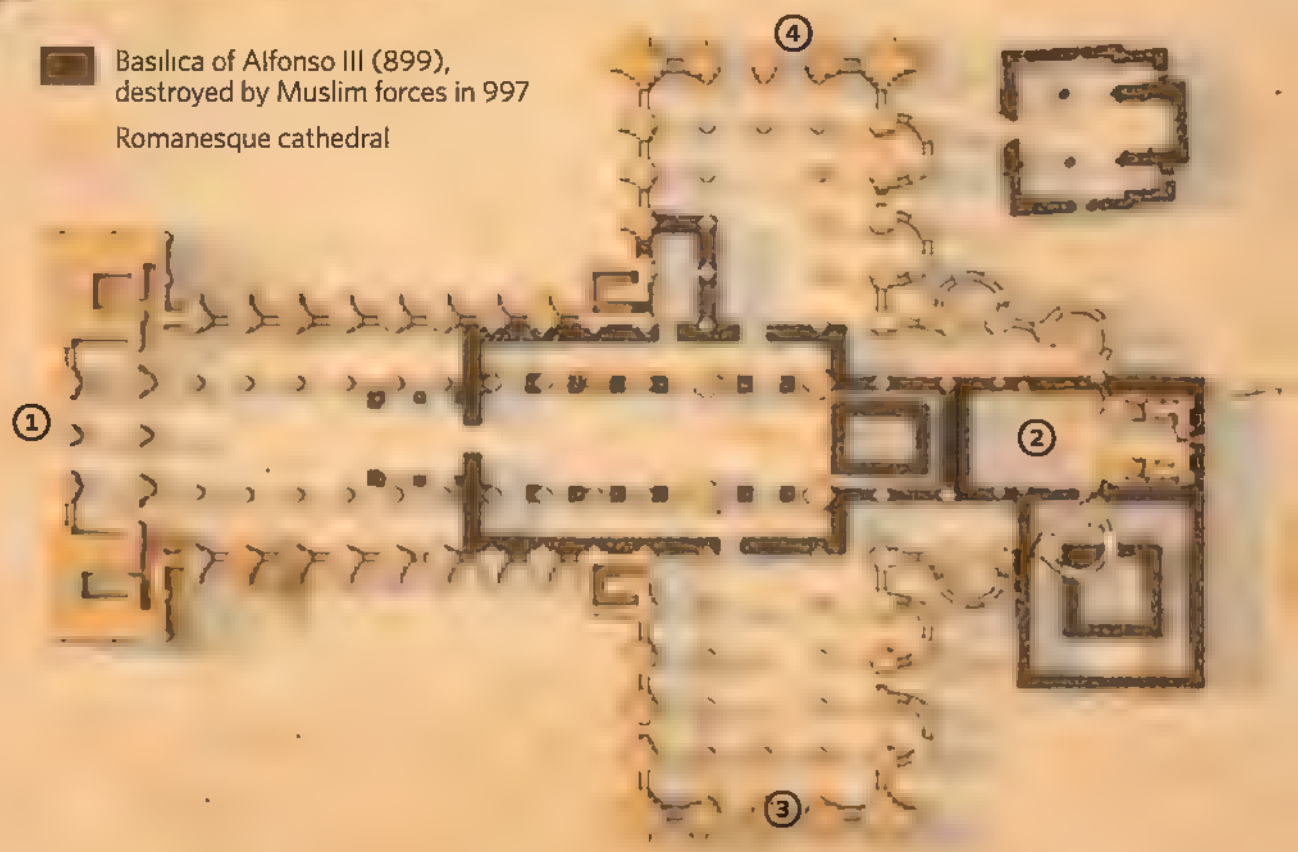
MAIN ILLUSTRATION: ALBUM

Lantern tower, over the crossing (the point where the nave and the transept intersect)
Silverware Facade
Cloister (under construction)

SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

A notable example of a pilgrimage church, this cathedral is famed for its size (it is 330 feet long) and its ① monumental facade, as well as its crypt, ② ambulatory, and galleries above the side aisles. The chevet (eastern end) was begun in the 1070s under the patronage of Alfonso VI, though its construction took place in various phases. In the early 12th century, the central volume was erected as was the transept (the arm of the cross) with its sculpted doors: the portal of ③ the Silverware Facade and ④ the Portal of Paradise.

JOSEP R. CASALS



SAINT-SERNIN: BIGGER AND BETTER

St. Sernin, Bishop of Toulouse, died circa A.D. 250, martyred by being dragged behind a bull. His remains later became the focus of a medieval cult, and a church was raised in his honor in southwestern France. As Toulouse became an important staging post on the route to Santiago, the church could no longer accommodate the large numbers of pilgrims staying in the city and flocking to pay homage to the martyred bishop. In the 1070s work began on the existing structure in full Romanesque style, with small windows topped by rounded arches. It is a large building, with a 377-foot-long nave. Like the cathedral at Santiago, built at the same time, Saint-Sernin's Romanesque design accommodates large numbers of pilgrims. A large Romanesque chevet (eastern part of the church) enabled the building of an ambulatory to allow pilgrims to walk around the high altar and venerate relics without interrupting Mass. Aspidal chapels provided space for pilgrims to meditate and pray.

THE AMBULATORY AND ASPIDAL CHAPELS OF THE 11TH-CENTURY BASILICA OF SAINT-SERNIN, TOULOUSE

RENÉ MATTES/CORDON PRESS

REACHING FOR THE SKIES
Basilica of Saint-Sernin soars over Toulouse, France. The spire and higher stories were added in the 13th and 14th centuries. Built of stone in the monumental Romanesque style, Saint-Sernin is faced with mellow brick, a local feature of Toulouse architecture.

RESPITE AT THE CROSSROADS

Two main routes to Santiago de Compostela join here at the village of Puente la Reina in Navarra, northern Spain, whose 11th-century Romanesque bridge still carries pilgrims over the Arga River. For footsore pilgrims from France, England, or even farther afield, arrival at this confluence marked the beginning of the last stretch, although Santiago still lies 400 miles to the west.

SCHMID REINHARD/FOTOTECA 9X17

SAINTE-FOY, CONQUES: POWER OF PICTURES

Narrative sculpture is a common characteristic of the Romanesque style and can often be found on the facades of different churches. Santiago's Portico of Glory shows an ornate depiction of the Last Judgment. Stunning examples can also be seen on the Romanesque Church of Sainte-Foy, Conques, in southern France. The sculpted tympanum set into an archway (opposite) depicts the Last Judgment. The use of reliefs came about in response to a new initiative to employ images in instruction. For this reason, the sculptures are sometimes exaggerated in their proportions, since their purpose is to convey moral messages from a distance. Figures, such as the Gospel writers, would be represented in clearly identifiable forms: Matthew as an angel, Mark as a lion, Luke as an ox, and John as an eagle. Iconography would have been familiar to the faithful who could interpret the imagery much like a literate person would read a Bible.

REMINDER IN STONE
The tympanum on Sainte-Foy (right) shows the complexity of the Last Judgment. A detail (below) shows Judas being hanged by a demon as punishment in hell.

MANUEL COHEN/AGRIMAGES

①CHRIST THE JUDGE

In the center is Christ enthroned, depicted inside a mandorla, an almond-shaped frame. The people he is judging occupy the lower tier. Some of the saved, greeted by Abraham, are on his right. The damned are to his left.

②THE BLESSED

To the left of Christ are figures of the Court of Heaven. Among their number are the Virgin Mary, St. Peter, a holy hermit from Conques, and Charlemagne, who donated lands on which the earlier abbey was built.

③WEIGHING SOULS

Immediately below Christ, St. Michael and a devil weigh souls on a scale to determine if their fate is heaven or damnation. Immediately to the left of St. Michael, angels are opening the graves to rouse souls to be judged.

④HELL

The tympanum depicts punishments awaiting the damned. An adulterous couple tied to each other, while another man is being trampled by a demon. On the far right, one of the damned is being roasted on a spit over an open fire.

ARNAUD SPANI/CORBIS IMAGES

COLOR OF AN AGE

The group of sculptures created by the master builder Mateo for the Portico of Glory of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, Spain, was unique in its day, both for the quality of its carving and its lavish coloring. Materials used included quantities of pure gold and Afghan lapis lazuli not found in any other work of the period. Recent restoration work has recovered some of the original coloring, as shown in the sculpture of St. James (above), welcoming pilgrims as they enter his cathedral.

THE RESTORATION OF THE PORTICO OF GLORY AT SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA WAS FUNDED BY THE BARRIÉ FOUNDATION, AND COMPLETED IN 2016.

PHOTO COURTESY OF FUNDACIÓN BARRIÉ

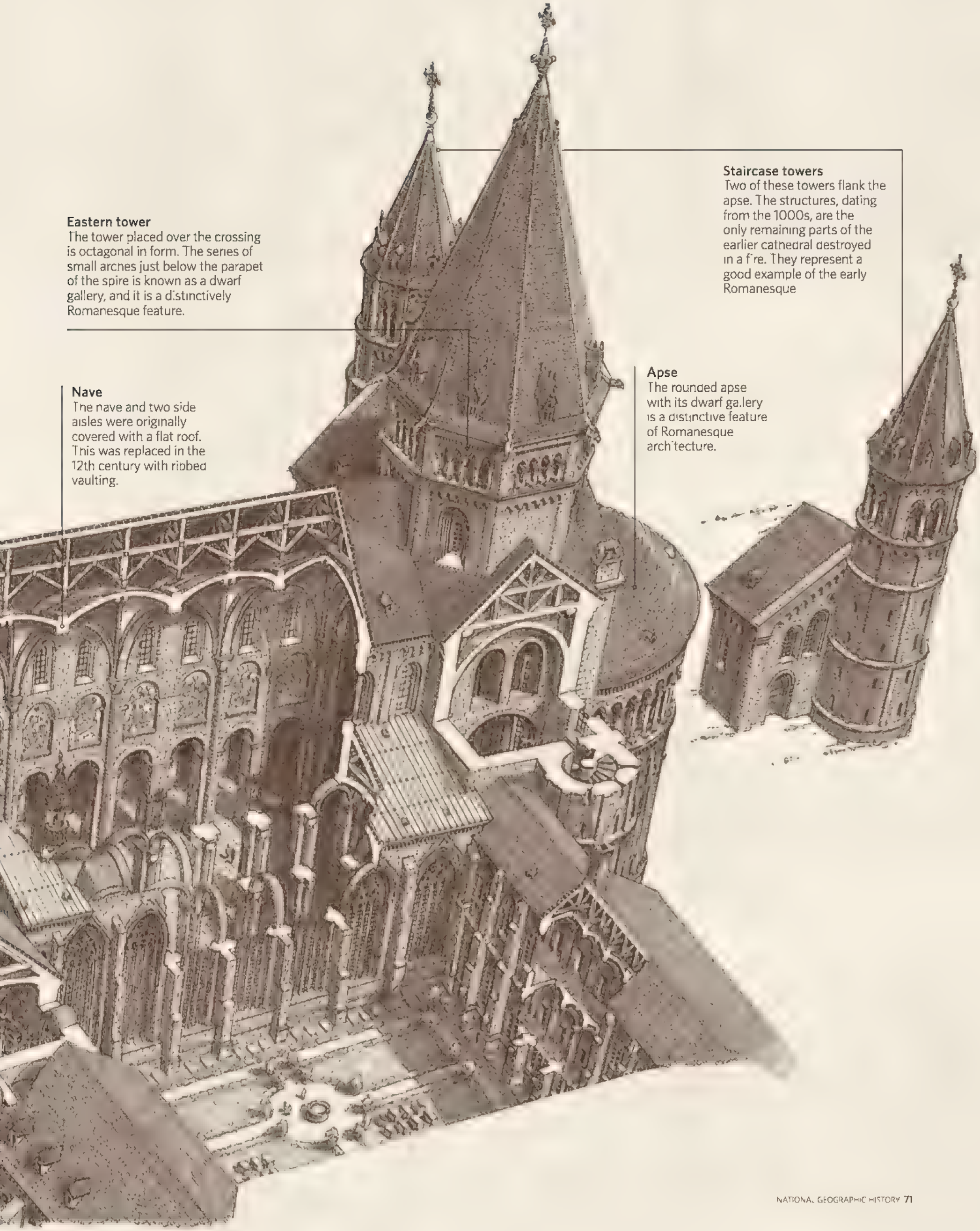
©FUNDACIÓN BARRIÉ/FUNDACIÓN CATEDRAL DE SANTIAGO

MAINZ: MEDLEY OF STYLES

Many Romanesque churches were later adapted to reflect new styles. A good example is St. Martin's Cathedral in Mainz, in southern Germany. Work began in the late 10th century on a new cathedral, under the patronage of the Holy Roman emperor, built along Romanesque lines. With its large nave and monumental solidity, it reflected the importance of Mainz as one of the three great Rhine "imperial cathedrals" of the Holy Roman Empire (the other two, Worms and Speyer, are also Romanesque structures). Unusually, Mainz has two chancels (the area that houses the altar) at the western and eastern end. This may symbolize the earthly and spiritual aspects of the Holy Roman Empire. The illustration to the right shows how the cathedral looks today.

ILLUSTRATION FRANCESCO CORNI

Baroque tower
The tower destroyed by a fire in 1767 was replaced by another that culminates in a pinnacle divided into a number of tiers.


Eastern tower
The tower placed over the crossing is octagonal in form. The series of small arches just below the parapet of the spire is known as a dwarf gallery, and it is a distinctively Romanesque feature.
Staircase towers
Two of these towers flank the apse. The structures, dating from the 1000s, are the only remaining parts of the earlier cathedral destroyed in a fire. They represent a good example of the early Romanesque
Nave
The nave and two side aisles were originally covered with a flat roof. This was replaced in the 12th century with ribbed vaulting.
Apse
The rounded apse with its dwarf gallery is a distinctive feature of Romanesque architecture.

BLENDING TRADITIONS
The adaptability of the new architecture is clearly visible in the Cathedral of Monreale, Sicily, a UNESCO World Heritage site. The island's new Norman rulers (the recent conquerors of England) blended north, south, east, and west in this magnificent building begun in the 1170s. The Romanesque style is evident in its floor plan and rows of rounded arches mounted on Corinthian columns. The mosaics were executed by Byzantine craftsmen, and the wooden coffered ceiling is a nod to the style of the island's previous Muslim rulers.

ANTONINO BARTUCCIO/FOTOTECA 9X12

VOYAGE TO ALABAMA

National Geographic used detailed records and measurements to create illustrations of the [illegible]

CLOTILDA

THE LAST AMERICAN SLAVE SHIP

Identified in 2019, the wreckage of the *Clotilda* added another compelling chapter to the story of slavery in the United States and to the legacy of those who survived it.

NATALIE S. ROBERTSON, PH.D.

From Slavery to Freedom

March 2, 1807
The U.S. Congress approves legislation "to prohibit the importation of slaves into any port or place within . . . the United States," which will go into effect on January 1, 1808.

May 15, 1820
Because traffickers ignored the 1808 law, the Act of 1820 declares participation in the international slave trade to be piracy, a crime punishable by death.

April 1860
The king of Dahomey's forces raid a Yoruba farmstead in West Africa, kill its leaders, and seize captives who will be held in Ouidah to be sold to slavers from the Americas.

May 1860
Purchased for $9,000, 110 African prisoners board the *Clotilda* and will endure a horrific 48 days as they make the Middle Passage to Alabama.

April 12, 1865
Union soldiers inform the *Clotilda* survivors that they are free. Unable to return to Africa, they will build their own home, Africatown.

AFRICATOWN FREEDOM BELL. A REPLICA STANDS IN THE COURTYARD OF THE MOBILE COUNTY TRAINING SCHOOL.

ELIAS WILLIAMS/NGS

LEAVING A MARK

Timothy Meaher smuggled Africans into the United States in 1860. Meaher State Park in Alabama (above) is named for his family, who donated the land.

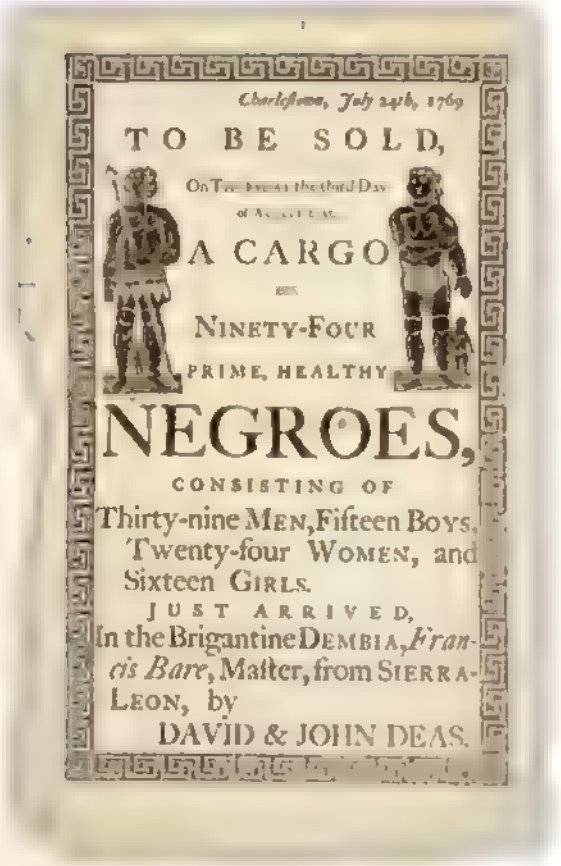
MICHAEL RUNKEL/AGE FOTOSTOCK

One dark night in July 1860, fire danced over the waters of Mobile Bay as a schooner was set ablaze. She was the *Clotilda* and had just illegally smuggled 110 West Africans into the United States on the eve of the Civil War. The perpetrators hoped to erase proof of their illegal voyage, by setting her on fire, but the ship could not stay hidden forever.

On May 22, 2019, a collaboration of the Alabama Historical Commission, National Geographic Society, Search Inc., National Museum of African American History and Culture, Slave Wrecks Project, and National Park Service identified the slaver *Clotilda*. The search for the shipwreck had taken years of intensive work, often complicated by the fact that the surrounding waters are packed with many other shipwrecks from years past. Meticulous historical research paired with cutting-edge archaeology proved that this ship was indeed the long-lost *Clotilda*, the last American slave ship.

PUNISHABLE BY DEATH

PRIOR TO 1808 slave importation was legal in South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, but the Act to Prohibit Importation of Slaves changed that in 1808. Smugglers continued to illegally import Africans for slave labor. Congress passed several acts to sharpen the teeth of the act, but none so much as the Act of 1820 "to . . . punish the crime of piracy." In it, legislators proclaimed that anyone participating in the international slave trade—financiers, captains, or sailors—would be committing piracy, a crime punishable by heavy fines and death. Smuggling of Africans did continue in violation of the Piracy Act. According to the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, about 100,000 people were forcibly brought into the country between 1800 and 1807. After 1820, they estimate that 10,000 people or fewer were smuggled into the United States.


Charleston, July 24th, 1769

TO BE SOLD,

On Tuesday the third Day of August next,

A CARGO

OF

NINETY-FOUR

PRIME, HEALTHY

NEGROES,

CONSISTING OF

Thirty-nine MEN, Fifteen Boys, Twenty-four WOMEN, and Sixteen GIRLS.

JUST ARRIVED,

In the Brigantine DEMBIA, *Francis Bare*, Master, from SIERRA-LEON, by

DAVID & JOHN DEAS.

BROADSIDE ANNOUNCING THE SALE OF 94 PEOPLE FROM "SIERRA LEON." 18TH CENTURY, SOUTH CAROLINA
BRIDGEMAN/AC

In the antebellum South, enslaved labor had been powering the region's economy for hundreds of years. The international slave trade supplied much of this labor force during the colonial era, and the domestic trade took over in the 19th century. While the trans-Atlantic slave trade, which lasted between 1525 and 1866, displaced more than 12 million Africans by forcibly sending them to the Americas, the *Clotilda's* captives were the last of an estimated 389,000 brought from Africa to North America from the early 1600s to 1860.

Banning the Trade

After the War for Independence, the new nation's divided attitudes toward slavery became apparent as its founding documents were being written in the 1780s. To join the free and slave states, several compromises were made over the institution, including the legality of the international slave trade. The vaguely worded Article 1, Section 9, says that the government will not interfere in "the Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit" before 1808, protecting the trade for 20 years.

Two decades later, the Slave Trade Act criminalized the "importation of any negro, mulatto, or person of color from any foreign kingdom, place, or country into the United States for the purposes of holding, selling, or disposing of such persons as slaves." Effective January 1, 1808, the act further states that violators would be guilty of a high misdemeanor, punishable by not more than ten, but not less than five years in prison.

Despite the transatlantic slave trade being illegal, importation of enslaved Africans did not stop completely. Smuggling still continued—not only because it made money, but also because it rebuffed attempts by the federal government to take away the "states' rights" to regulate imports. More legislative attempts followed to outlaw the trade, capped off in 1820 when the United States criminalized slave smuggling as an act of "piracy," punishable by death.

JAMES HENRY HAMMOND POPULARIZED THE PHRASE "COTTON IS KING" IN AN 1858 SPEECH TO THE U.S. SENATE.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WHEN COTTON WAS KING

IN THE DECADES BEFORE the Civil War, the Southern economy centered around growing cotton. The dominant cash crop fed the textile industries in Great Britain and the northern United States. Pro-slavery Southern planters and politicians argued that cotton was so important, that everything would collapse without it, making their stance on slavery impermeable. The most famous proclamation of this attitude came in March 1858 when Senator James Henry Hammond of South Carolina, a planter and owner of about 300 enslaved people, arrogantly proclaimed, "[W]ould any sane nation make war on cotton? Without firing a gun, without drawing a sword, should they make war on us we could bring the whole world to our feet. What would happen if no cotton was furnished for three years? . . . [T]his is certain: England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her, save the South. No, you dare not make war on cotton. No power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton is king."

In the 1800s the growth of cotton as a cash crop reenergized the power of the slaveholding states. The Indian Removal Act of 1830 dispossessed massive numbers of Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole Indians of their land by 1838, thereby increasing the amount of nutrient-rich land available for cotton production in the black belt region that encompassed the Gulf Coast states.

Domestic Trade

The demand for slaves increased exponentially with the rise of King Cotton, the reigning cash crop in the South. The burgeoning cotton monopoly is measured largely by the number of bales produced annually in the black belt during the second half of the 19th century, with three million bales produced in 1852, 3.5 million bales in 1856, and five million bales in 1860. As demand for labor increased in the established and emerging cotton plantations in the black belt and in the West, the domestic slave trade exploded within the United States.

Within the domestic trade, slaves were sourced primarily in Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, through sales by owners who commodified and collateralized African Americans. Some supplied the domestic trade through the kidnapping of enslaved and free blacks, owing to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, from free states. Others trafficked in jailed "runaway slaves."

In the domestic slave trade, slaves were transported by sea, by train, by river, and by land, forced to walk hundreds of miles from their plantations or places of origin to southern and western markets where they were sold to plantation owners. Blacks viewed enslavement or re-enslavement on southern and western plantations as a death sentence because of the arduous nature of cotton production at an inhumane pace and in sweltering heat. Their plight was further exacerbated by the psychological and emotional traumas experienced when they were separated from their spouses, siblings, and children. Slaves who dreaded separation from their original plantations and re-enslavement on new ones staged revolts aboard vessels deployed in the domestic slave trade.

CASH CROPS

U.S. cotton production exploded in the 19th century from 35 million pounds in 1800 to 331 million in 1830, and to 2,275 million pounds in 1860.

BRIDGEMAN/ACI

The domestic slave trade continued through the Civil War. As late as April 1865, one year after the U.S. Senate passed the 13th Amendment that abolished slavery (when ratified), records noted that Lumpkin's Jail in Richmond, Virginia, "shipped fifty men, women, and children... This sad and weeping fifty, in handcuffs and chains, were the last slave coffle that ever shall tread the soil of America." Before the end of the domestic slave trade, more than 1.2 million people were victimized (enslaved or re-enslaved), generating tremendous profits for domestic slave traders and for buyers who exploited their labor.

As the domestic slave trade thrived and grew, illegally importing slave labor from Africa did continue. The practice was more common in the states of the black belt region where there was strong contempt for the federal government's anti-smuggling efforts. Pro-slavery forces even attempted to reintroduce the Atlantic slave trade back to the United States. Southerners viewed efforts to

JOURNEY'S BEGINNING

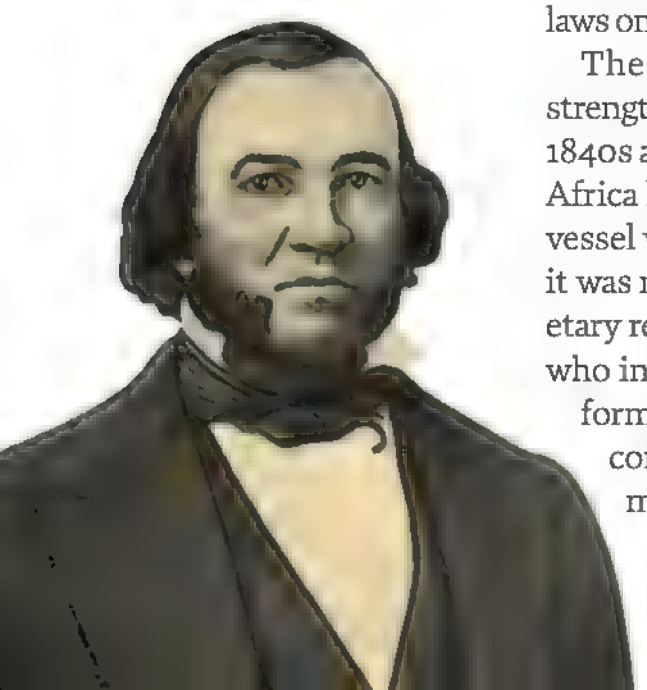
THE "SLAVE COAST" was the European name coined for a portion of West Africa that became a primary supplier of enslaved labor between the 17th and 19th centuries. One of the main ports was the city of Ouidah (Whydah), part of the kingdom of Dahomey after 1727. The leaders of Dahomey would conduct campaigns to seize people from other African states. These captives would be sold as slaves to Portuguese, French, and British merchants, who shipped them to nations in the Americas, particularly Brazil. The *Clotilda*'s captives in 1860 began the Middle Passage in Ouidah. Historians estimate that more than one million people were trafficked through this city alone before the trans-Atlantic slave trade ended in the late 19th century.

DAHOMEY, SHOWN ON A "MAP OF THE SLAVE COAST" FROM *MEMOIRS OF THE REIGN OF BOSSA AHÁDEE, KING OF DAHOMY,* 1789
BRITISH LIBRARY/ALBUM

GAMBLING MAN

Born in 1812 to Irish immigrants, Timothy Meaher relocated from Maine to Alabama in the 1830s, where he made his fortune in shipbuilding, trade, and farming. He lived in Alabama until his death in 1892.

DOY LEALE McCALL RARE BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY/UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH ALABAMA



strengthen anti-smuggling laws not only as an encroachment upon their states' rights but also as a threat to both their economic livelihood and social status as masters of slaves.

Even under the threat of death, smuggling continued in order to feed the heightened demand for laborers in the black belt. Federal efforts to prevent slave smuggling were undermined by various ruses deployed by smugglers and by quid pro quo relationships among slave smugglers, consular agents, judges, and other authorities charged with enforcing federal anti-smuggling laws on land and at sea.

The federal government continued to strengthen existing anti-smuggling laws in the 1840s and 1850s. American ships departing for Africa had to notify the district attorney. The vessel would then be searched to confirm that it was not outfitted for a slaving voyage. Monetary rewards increased for American citizens who informed on slave smugglers, giving informants $250 for each African captured as contraband. Moreover, Congress funded measures to regulate ship registries more closely, requiring Americans to consent to a right of search by American and British steamers patrolling the West African coast.

A Wager

The *Clotilda* smuggling venture was hatched in 1860 in defiance of the federal government's anti-smuggling legislation. Timothy Meaher, a wealthy plantation and steamboat magnate of Mobile, Alabama, made a bet that he could successfully smuggle Africans into the United States without being prosecuted. Meaher originally hailed from a family of shipbuilders in Maine. He relocated to Mobile where he established a shipyard, a lumber mill, a plantation, and a steamboat business, thereby positioning himself to profit from all aspects of the cotton boom.

By 1850 Alabama had surpassed Mississippi as the leading cotton producer in the black belt region. Meaher himself transported over 1.7 million bales of cotton from various plantations to the Mobile docks in the course of his steamboat business that he operated along with his brothers James and Byrne. Timothy Meaher's

economic and political interests went beyond preserving slavery in the United States. He was even involved in efforts to expand it to other nations. To feed his growing business, Meaher advocated reestablishing the international slave trade as an alternative, less expensive source of labor than the domestic slave trade.

The success of Meaher's smuggling venture would depend on the experience of a skilled captain: William Foster, the owner of a fast schooner called the *Clotilda*. Foster belonged to a family of sailors and shipbuilders who hailed from Fisher's Grant, Pictou, Nova Scotia. Like the Meahers, the Fosters relocated to Mobile, where they could profit as shipwrights.

A sleek schooner weighing 120 81/95 tons, the *Clotilda* and fast clipper ships like her were designed for speed to evade capture. Both American and Spanish smugglers utilized these fast-sailing, nimble vessels to elude sluggish government steamers. These ships also "clipped" or decreased the sail time of transatlantic voyages. Insurance documents from the time revealed the *Clotilda*'s unique construction and dimensions.

Voyage to Dahomey

As late as 1858, the *Daily Register,* Mobile's leading newspaper, announced that, "The King of Dahomey was driving a brisk trade in slaves, at from $50 to $60 each, at Wydah [Ouidah]." While not all Africans sold other Africans in the slave trade that constituted a buyer-driven market, the Fon warriors of Dahomey sold millions of Africans into the slave trade. Therefore, Meaher and Foster chose Ouidah as the slave port.

In violation of the Piracy Act, the *Clotilda* was outfitted with large amounts of lumber planks and water casks, for smuggling slaves. Captain Foster and his 11-man crew set sail for Ouidah on March 4, 1860. Damaged by various storms

FROM FREEDOM TO SLAVERY

Located in Ouidah (Whydah), a coastal town in Benin, the Door of No Return (above) commemorates the lives of those who passed through this notorious port to be sold into slavery across the Atlantic.

MICHELE BURGESS/ALAMY/AC

Timothy Meaher, a wealthy plantation and steamboat magnate, made a bet that he could smuggle Africans into the United States without being prosecuted.

MARK THIESSEN/NGS

TOUGH AS NAILS

National Geographic engineer Arthur Clarke analyzed artifacts taken from the wreck. He found that this nail (above) and others like it were nearly 99 percent pure iron, consistent with fasteners used in shipbuilding in Alabama in the 1850s.

MARK THIESSEN/NGS

ANCESTRAL TRACES

Wood from the ship may yield more details about the *Clotilda*'s passengers. Forensic scientist Frankie West studied samples of wood (above) taken from the ship's hold in hopes of recovering DNA from captives' blood or other bodily fluids.

THE WRECK OF THE *CLOTILDA*

The *Clotilda*'s unique design and dimensions helped scholars identify it more than 100 years after it had been scuttled in the Mobile-Tensaw Delta of Alabama. Archaeologists combed through hundreds of original sources for clues to find the historic vessel and confirm its identity. Insurance documents proved to be key pieces of evidence, providing detailed descriptions of the schooner, including its construction materials: southern yellow pine planks, white oak frames, and copper sheathing.

1 Copper Sheathing

The hull was sheathed in copper to protect it from decay and ocean waves. Only five schooners built in the Mobile area at the time were insured for transatlantic sailing, which required this protective copper sheathing.

2 Cargo Hold

The *Clotilda*'s cramped hold, only seven feet high, was originally designed to transport cargo, not people. Planks were laid down at the bottom of the hull, where 110 people endured the six-week voyage.

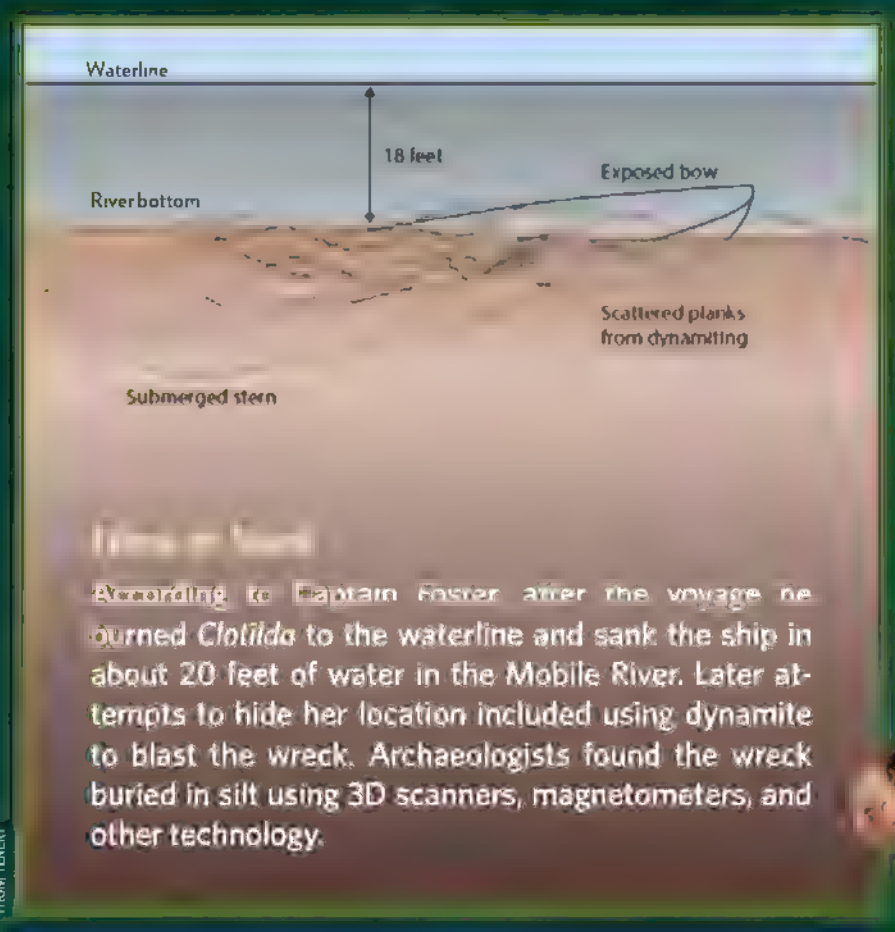
3 Measurements

The *Clotilda*'s dimensions, recovered from insurance documents, were unique and crucial to the wreck's identification. The boat was the only Gulf-built schooner of its kind: 86 feet long with a 23-foot beam.

METAL FASTENERS, SUCH AS NAILS, SPIKES, AND BOLTS, WERE MADE OF HAND-FORGED PIG IRON AND WERE COMMON IN SCHOONERS BUILT IN MOBILE IN THE MID-19TH CENTURY.

BOLTS: MARK THIESSEN/NGS

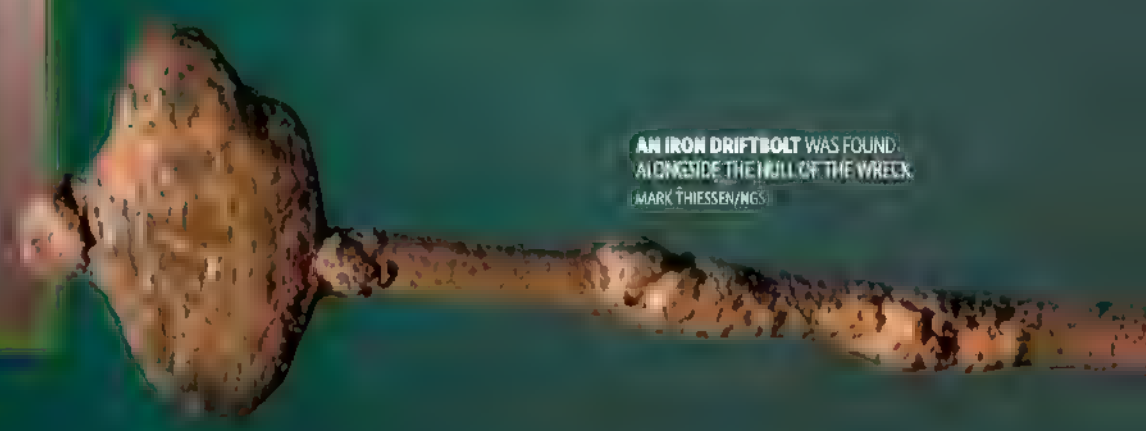
MAIN ILLUSTRATION: JASON TREAT AND KELSEY NOWAKOWSKI, NG STAFF. ART: THOM TENERY



Final Voyage

According to Captain Foster, after the voyage he burned *Clotilda* to the waterline and sank the ship in about 20 feet of water in the Mobile River. Later attempts to hide her location included using dynamite to blast the wreck. Archaeologists found the wreck buried in silt using 3D scanners, magnetometers, and other technology.

THOM TENERY



AN IRON DRIFTBOLT WAS FOUND ALONGSIDE THE HULL OF THE WRECK.

MARK THIESSEN/NGS

THE SMUGGLER'S EXECUTION

THE LAWS MAY HAVE been strengthened against illegally smuggling in slaves, but in the 45-year span between the Piracy Act in 1820 and the end of slavery in 1865, only one smuggler, Captain Nathaniel Gordon, was caught, successfully prosecuted, convicted, and hanged as a pirate engaged in illegal importation of African captives. In August 1860 Captain Gordon's ship, the *Erie*, was transporting 897 African captives in her hold when she was overhauled by U.S. naval authorities, just off the West African coast. Naval officers libeled and condemned the *Erie*; the captives were taken to Liberia, while Captain Gordon was taken to New York to be tried as a pirate. Gordon knew he had been caught and knew that he was unlikely to get away with his crimes. He was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death by hanging. The night before his scheduled execution on February 21, 1862, Gordon attempted suicide by taking poison, but he was revived so that he could be publicly hanged.

HANGING OF CAPTAIN GORDON. A 19TH-CENTURY ILLUSTRATION DEPICTS THE FEBRUARY 1862 EXECUTION OF NATHANIEL GORDON FOR SLAVE TRADING.
BRIDGEMAN/AGE FOTOSTOCK

in the Atlantic Ocean, the *Clotilda* called at the port of Praia, Cape Verde, for repair.

Despite the obvious signs that the *Clotilda* was outfitted for human cargo, the U.S. consul at Praia, William H. Marse, did not interrogate Captain Foster. Foster lavished the consul's wife with expensive shawls, beads, and sundries. Smugglers regularly factored bribes or "hush money" into the budgets for their smuggling ventures. Those bribes could be money, Cuban cigars, clothing, and jewelry. Having repaired the *Clotilda* at Praia, and having averted an interrogation by U.S. Consul Marse serving duty there, Captain Foster set sail, once again, for Ouidah.

The slave port was controlled by the powerful Fon warriors of the hinterland kingdom of Dahomey. Only select groups of Africans participated in the slave trade as sellers, and the Fon warriors of Dahomey were among them. They were militarily equipped to launch raids, most of which were led by female soldiers known as "Amazons." Dahomey's people were engaged in a protracted war with neighboring Yoruba groups who resided primarily

in southwestern Nigeria. For this reason, the *Clotilda* cargo consisted of Yoruba-speaking Africans as well as people from more culturally—and linguistically—diverse villages in central Nigeria.

Once captured in the interior, captive Africans were taken to the port city of Ouidah and warehoused in the village of Zoungbodji. The inland village of Zoungbodji figured prominently in the slave-trading protocol devised and implemented by the Fon warriors. Like all captains seeking to purchase African captives at Ouidah, Foster was subject to strict protocol devised by Dahomean officials. In adherence to the Fon's slave-trading procedure, Foster had to pay trade duties, undergo surveillance, and negotiate the purchase through a series of appointed officials who represented the Dahomean king Glele. Records show Foster paid $9,000 in gold for 125 Africans, who were worth 20 times more in Alabama.

The Fon warriors transferred the captives from Zoungbodji to a temporary barracoon on the beach. From there, they were placed in canoes and taken to the *Clotilda* anchored offshore.

FAST AND FURTIVE

The *Clotilda* was a fast ship, and her journey from start to finish (above) took precautions, including several stops, to avoid detection by the authorities.

MATTHEW CHWASTYK AND JASON TREAT NG STAFF SOURCE: MOBILE PUBLIC LIBRARY

The United States had employed ships in their so-called African Squadron to patrol shores in the region, and Captain Foster feared that they might catch him in his illegal enterprise. Captain Foster hastily weighed anchor, leaving 15 captives behind, so the *Clotilda*'s human cargo comprised just 110 Africans, primarily from southwestern and central Nigeria, with at least one Fon captive from Dahomey.

A federal cruiser did give chase but could not overtake the faster schooner. The *Clotilda* embarked upon her Middle Passage voyage back to Alabama. Owing to the schooner's speed, the voyage would be completed in roughly six weeks rather than the customary three months.

The Schooner Arrives

On July 9, 1860, under the cloak of night, the *Clotilda* entered the waters off Alabama. She was hitched to a tugboat and towed upriver, where Captain Foster off-loaded the African captives from the ship's dark, fetid hold. They were hidden in a canebrake and then moved in great secrecy until they could be distributed

STORIES FROM AFRICATOWN

AFTER THE UNION VICTORY in the Civil War, slavery came to an end in the United States, and the captives of the *Clotilda* were free. More than 30 of them who had lived and worked near Mobile, Alabama, purchased their own tracts of land in an area north of the city. Several communities developed: Plateau, Lewis Quarters, Magazine, Prichard, Happy Hills, and Kelly Hills, which became collectively known as Africatown. Drawing on their African heritage, residents built homes and businesses, grew crops and tended livestock, and founded churches and schools. Africatown flourished, reaching a population of 12,000 in the 1960s. Industrialization and blight have since hurt the community, whose population has dropped to fewer than 2,000. The wreck of the *Clotilda* has become a beacon of hope for Africatown. Not only does its discovery confirm the stories of their ancestors, the wreck could also attract visitors, bringing in those who are hungry to learn about the legacy of the ones who survived the *Clotilda* and slavery.

CHILDREN OF AFRICATOWN. DESCENDANTS OF CHARLIE LEWIS, A *CLOTILDA* SURVIVOR, GATHER FOR A FAMILY PORTRAIT NEAR WHERE THEIR ANCESTORS SETTLED AS FREE PEOPLE.
ELIAS WILLIAMS/NGS

to buyers who had prepurchased them. Foster sank and burned the *Clotilda* to the waterline.

Foster had covertly entered the Port of Mobile without showing the *Clotilda*'s manifest and without paying customs duties as required by law. Consequently, the collector of customs reported Captain Foster, and he was summoned to court. Foster was heavily fined but not prosecuted for violating the Piracy Act.

Timothy Meaher was arrested, but he also escaped prosecution. Fellow slaveholder and pro-slavery advocate Judge William G. Jones of the Circuit Court of the United States for the Fifth Judicial Circuit (Southern District of Alabama) accepted Meaher's false alibi. He escaped prosection and punishment by death. Meaher successfully smuggled the last cargo of enslaved Africans into the United States. He won his bet.

Legacy of Africa

After their arrival, the Africans from the *Clotilda* were enslaved on various plantations throughout Alabama, including the Bogue Chitto Plantation in Dallas County and the Meaher Plantation in

ARRIVAL IN ALABAMA

THE *CLOTILDA*'S ARRIVAL in Alabama occurred in great secrecy. Both Meaher and Foster knew discovery of their venture meant death, so they took precautions to avoid detection by federal authorities. After the *Clotilda* arrived in the waters of Alabama in early July 1860, Foster went ashore to alert Meaher of their arrival and then returned to his ship. Meaher boarded a tugboat, *Billy Jones*, which traveled down the Spanish river to meet the schooner. The *Clotilda* was tied to the tugboat, which pulled her silently upriver where it met a steamship, the *Czar*, helmed by Meaher's brother Byrne. The African captives were transferred from the dark hold of the schooner to the waiting *Czar*, which took them to land. They were given ragged clothes and hidden in the tall, tangled canebrake along the river to avoid detection by any federal authorities. The captives would be enslaved until 1865, when the 13th Amendment ended slavery.

JASON TREAT AND KELSEY NOWAKOWSKI, NG STAFF. ART: THOM TENERY

Mobile. They worked and lived on these farms as the Civil War raged on. After the Confederacy lost and slavery was subsequently abolished, many of the newly freed longed to return home to West Africa, but they lacked the means.

Rather than succumb, more than 30 members of the *Clotilda* cargo purchased land north of Mobile, Alabama, to start their own homes. Historical records bear their names: Cudjo, Charlee, Polee, Gumpa, Jaba, Kanko, Zuma, and Abackey. They and their shipmates drew on their West African culture, expertise, and technical skills to build their own community, which became known as Africatown.

With a determination to overcome their ordeal, the *Clotilda* Africans constructed vernacular houses with adjacent gardens whose crops thrived based upon the agricultural acumen of their West African cultivators. An African-influenced work ethic, a communal lifestyle, and an age-grade system of governance sustained Africatown's residents for generations.

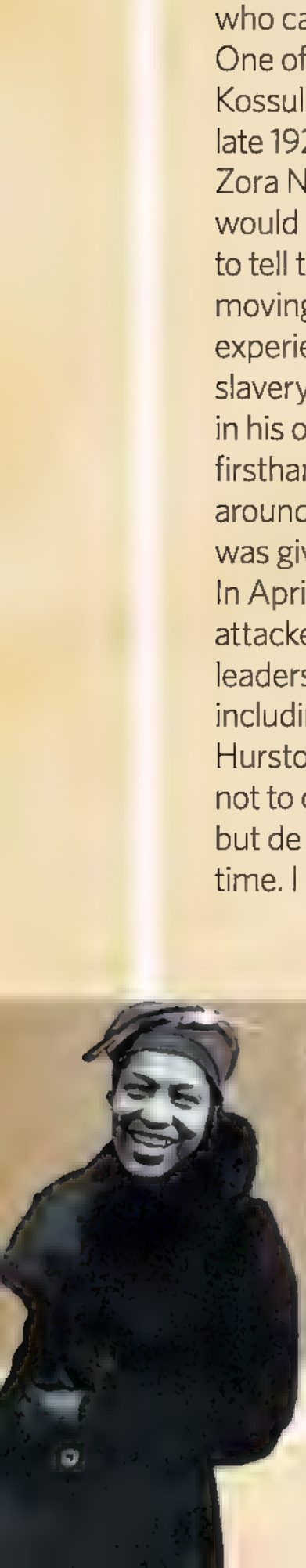
Tales of the *Clotilda* voyage were passed down to descendants to keep the story alive despite denials from Mobile's former slaveholders. One hundred fifty-nine years after her transatlantic voyage, the discovery of the *Clotilda*'s wreckage has validated the stories of the ancestors.

Globally, the oceans and the riverbeds sing the dirges of millions of Africans who perished during the Middle Passage. After the United States banned the international slave trade, Meaher and Foster defied the law and got away with the crime of smuggling people from Africa. The *Clotilda* captives' survival, both of the Middle Passage and slavery itself, is prima facie evidence of a crime. The *Clotilda*'s wreckage corroborates her captives' victimization in the 19th century. The existence of Africatown validates the legacy and resilience of the primarily Yoruba-speaking Africans whose ancestry and legacy shine through the lives of their descendants.

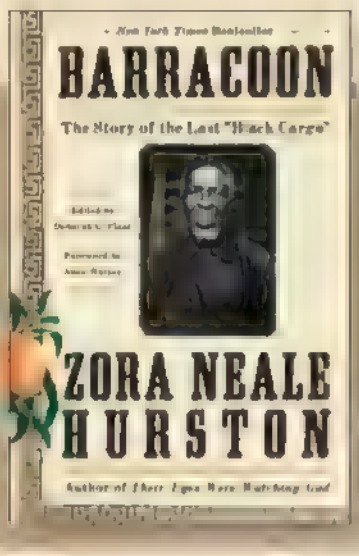
NATALIE S. ROBERTSON, Ph.D.
AUTHOR OF THE SLAVE SHIP *CLOTILDA* AND THE MAKING OF AFRICATOWN, U.S.A.,
ROBERTSON IS ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR (ADJUNCT) AT HAMPTON UNIVERSITY IN VIRGINIA.

AFRICATOWN ANCESTOR

FOR MORE THAN A CENTURY, historians have been researching the stories of the people who came to Alabama aboard the *Clotilda*. One of the richest accounts is that of Cudjo Kossula Lewis, who was interviewed in the late 1920s by anthropologist and author Zora Neale Hurston. Hurston's research would serve as a foundation for future efforts to tell the full story of the *Clotilda*. Providing moving personal insight into the horrifying experiences of war, the Middle Passage, and slavery, her work recorded Lewis's stories in his own words—allowing his voice to tell firsthand accounts of terror and grief. Born around 1841 in what is now Oyo, Lewis was given many names, including Kossula. In April 1860 the warriors of Dahomey attacked Kossula's farmstead, killing their leaders and taking the townspeople prisoner, including young Kossula. Years later he told Hurston, "When I think 'bout dat time I try not to cry no mo'. My eyes dey stop cryin' but de tears runnee down inside me all de time. I no see none my family."



GRANGER/A_BUM



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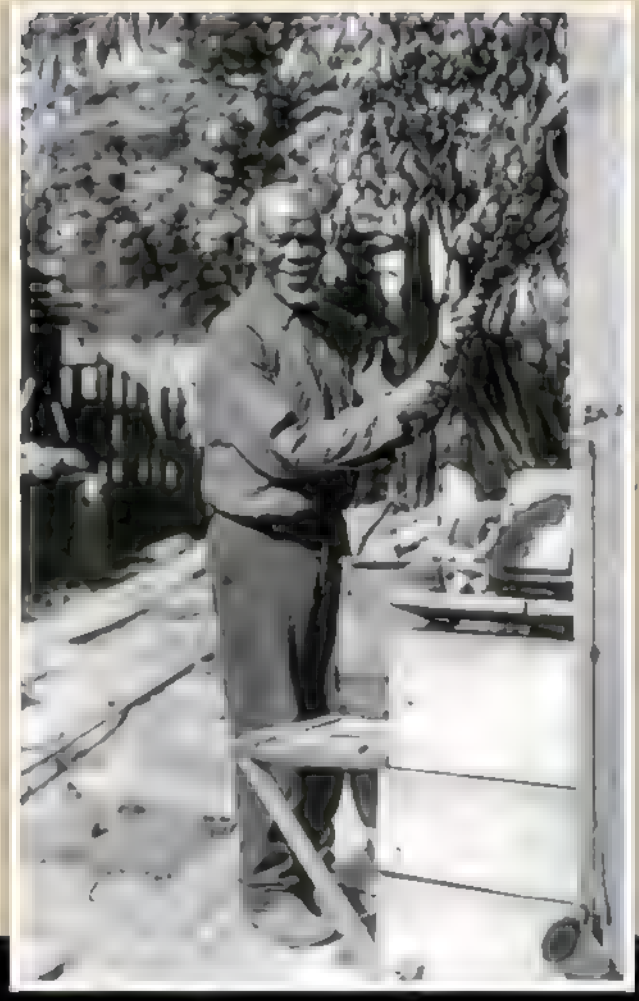
Shipmates
Lewis stands alongside Abackey (left), his shipmate from the *Clotilda*. Before being taken to Alabama, Lewis was captured in southwestern Nigeria, and Abackey in central Nigeria.



Life's Work
Lewis worked as a farmer, laborer, and shingle maker. A 1902 train accident left him unable to do heavy physical labor, after which he became the sexton for Africatown's church.

BUST OF CUDJO LEWIS, UNION M SSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH PLATEAU, ALABAMA

ELIAS W LLIAMS/NGS

Hearth and Home
Seated before the fire, Lewis relaxes in his home in Africatown. He lived there until his death in 1935. He was one of the oldest *Clotilda* survivors.

IMAGES OF LEWIS DOY LEALE McCALL RARE BOOK AND MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH ALABAMA

The Race to Protect Teyuna, Colombia's "Lost City"

When looters stumbled on the ancient capital of the Tairona people, archaeologists scrambled to save this repository of Colombia's past.

In 1976 a group of Colombian archaeologists and their guides embarked on a grueling mission to save an ancient site from looters. Swinging machetes, they inched their way over the thick, jungled foothills of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta near Colombia's Caribbean coast.

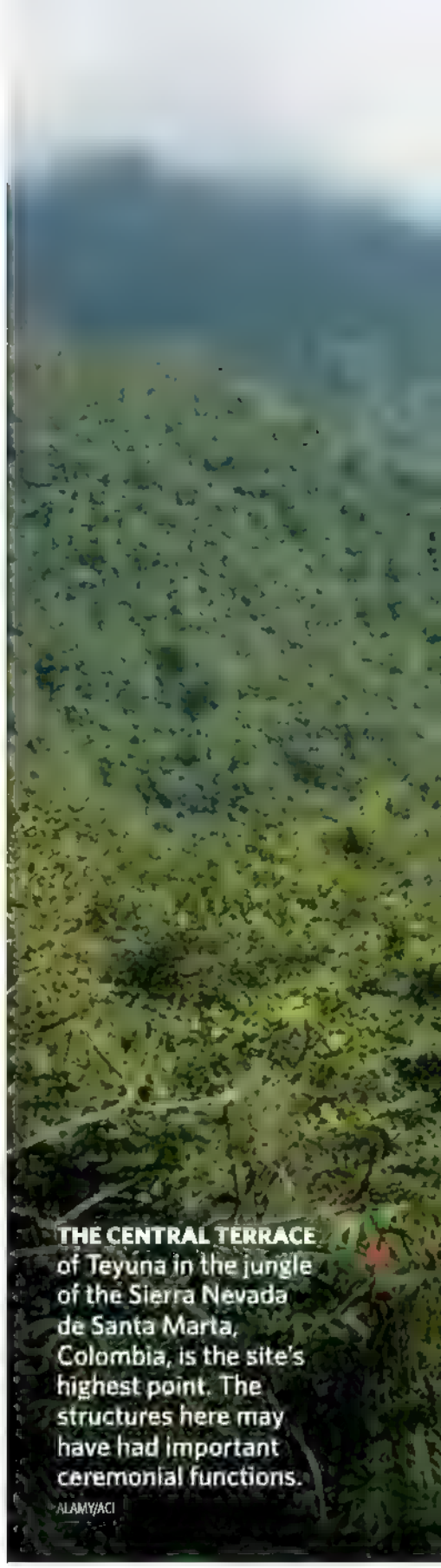
The area had once been inhabited by the Tairona, a pre-Columbian civilization that flourished in the centuries before the Spanish conquest in the 16th century. Their remarkable, interconnected settlements were being slowly rediscovered, excavated, documented, and studied. Days into the trek, the archaeologists, all members of Colombia's Institute of Anthropology, were feeling the strain. The long hike through the dense jungle was exacerbated by the searing heat, torrential rain, and biting insects.

Their mission was urgent: Authorities had been tipped off that a major archaeological site had been found by *huaqueros*, archaeological looters. Items from the site had already begun appearing on the antiquities black market. The team needed to bring the site under state control before more damage was done to the country's heritage.

Warlike Goldsmiths

The team was trying to reach an area that is generally known as Teyuna, which they had taken to calling a more informal name: Ciudad Perdida, "lost city." The Tairona had abandoned many of their settlements in the late 1600s, but their descendants who still live in the Sierra Nevada had never really considered the city lost. To outsiders, it had indeed vanished, swallowed by the Sierra Nevada's 15,000 square miles of jungle.

The Tairona culture developed in the region around A.D. 200. The Tairona were related to the Muisca peoples, who lived to the south around what is now the Colombian capital of Bogotá. Like the Muisca, the Tairona excelled in craftsmanship of precious metals such as gold, which may have fed the myth of El Dorado. They were noted for their resistance to the Spanish conquistadores,



THE CENTRAL TERRACE of Teyuna in the jungle of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Colombia, is the site's highest point. The structures here may have had important ceremonial functions.

ALAMY/ACI

A STELA FROM TEYUNA WHOSE GROOVES INDICATE THE NETWORK OF PATHS AND STAIRWAYS LINKING THE SITE

SYGMA/GETTY IMAGES

1973
Colombia's Institute of Anthropology starts documenting Tairona sites in the Sierra Nevada

1975
Looters find what is later identified as Teyuna. Government authorities pledge to protect the site.

1976
A scientific team from Colombia's Institute of Anthropology begin protecting and excavating Teyuna.

2006
After turmoil in Colombia suspends activity at the site in the 1980s, work resumes at Teyuna.

staving off the invaders until around 1600, a remarkable feat given the relatively rapid subjugation of the mighty Inca and Aztec.

Spanish chronicler Juan de Castellanos identified them as "Tairos" in the mid-1500s. Their conspicuously rich dress attracted the attention of other chroniclers, who described them as both "astute" and "imperious." The Spanish reported that they wore patterned capes, headdresses of feathers, and necklaces of beads, mother of pearl, carnelian, and gold.

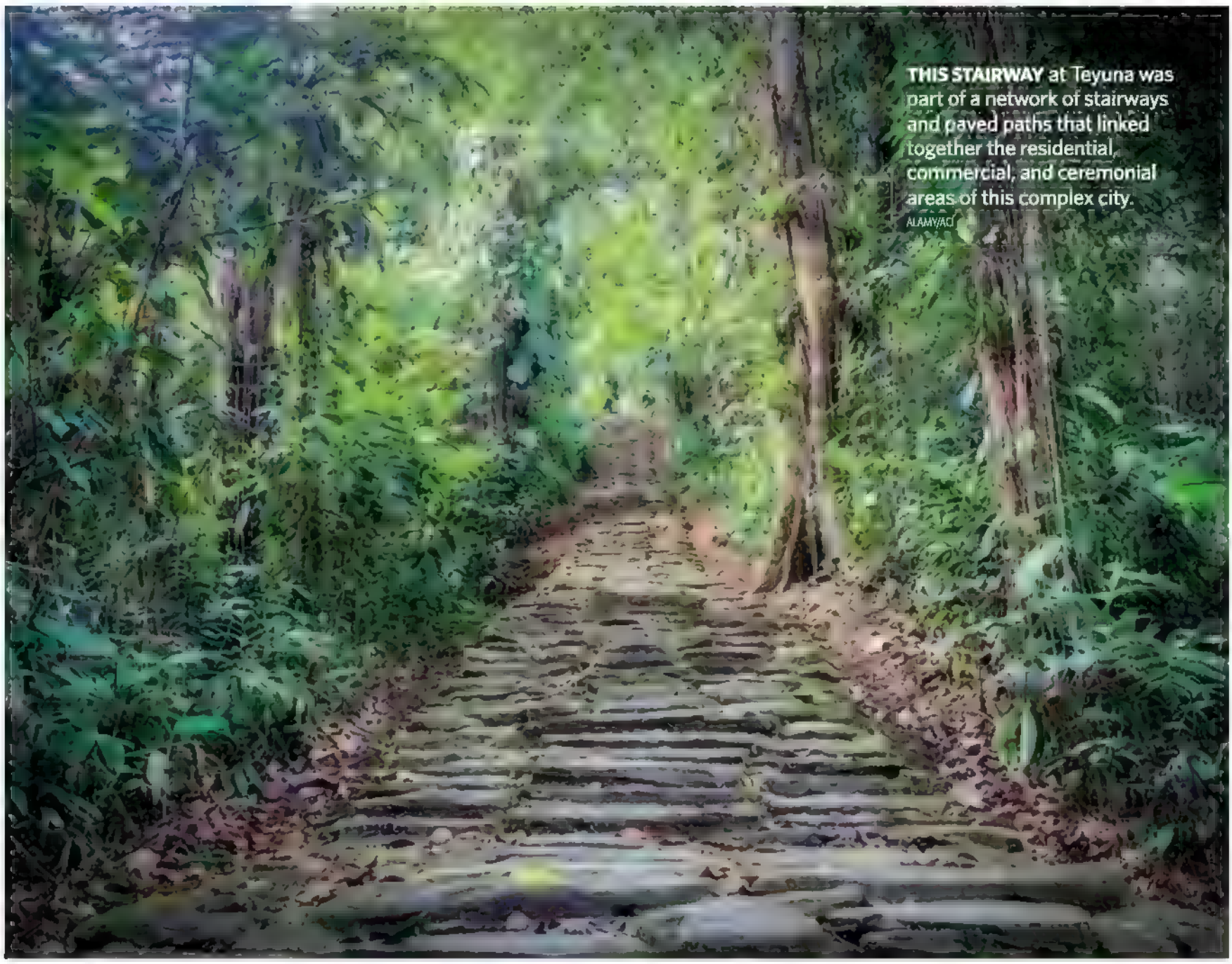
Mission: Teyuna

In the late 20th century, rumors of Tairona treasure in the jungle attracted looters. By the early 1970s, thousands of huaqueros were operating in Sierra Nevada, employed by gang leaders. Two of the workers were Florentino Sepúlveda and his son, who in 1975 discovered stone

ROUND HOUSES

TAIRONA HOUSES were conical, with wood walls and straw roofs. They were laid out on artificial terraces made of one or two circles of stones and accessed by stairways. The design provided refuge from the heavy rainfall typical of the region.

MARTIN GONZÁLEZ CAMARA/AGE FOTOSTOCK



THIS STAIRWAY at Teyuna was part of a network of stairways and paved paths that linked together the residential, commercial, and ceremonial areas of this complex city.
ALAMY/ACI

steps leading up a hillside.

Realizing they had stumbled on an unexcavated site, the Sepúlvedas found artifacts, which they looted and later sold. When other huaqueros learned of the discovery, a violent turf war broke out. In the end, some looters decided to cooperate with the authorities and passed on information about the site's location to them.

The archaeologists from the Colombian Institute of Anthropology had been exploring the region since 1973 and had already located 199 Tairona villages. The expedition dispatched to secure this new, exciting find consisted of a team of three archaeologists, an architect, and two looters turned guides.

A low flyover confirmed the vegetation was too thick to land by helicopter, so the team decided to go on foot and cut through the *infierno verde*, the green hell, a local term for conditions in the thick jungle.

The first thing they saw on climbing Teyuna's principal stairway of around 1,200 steps were the early signs of looters: holes and sherds of pottery spread all over the ground. Hacking back the jungle growth as best they could, they revealed more stairways, terraces, and the remains of other massive buildings in good condition. Over the course of three days at the site, they observed and sketched their findings in relentless rain.

A CERAMIC OCARINA MADE BY THE TAIRONA PEOPLE. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK
ALBUM

> The team decided to go on foot through the *infierno verde*, the green hell, a local term for conditions in the thick jungle.

Lost No More

On their return, Álvaro Soto, the director of the Institute of Anthropology, immediately understood the importance of the find: "It was Colombia's monumental site par

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WERNER FORMAN/GTRES

GOLDEN TWINS embody the delicacy and skill of Tairona craftsmanship. The warrior figurines are made of tumbaga, an alloy of gold and copper commonly used by the Tairona and other pre-Columbian societies in the Americas.

excellence; it was part of our identity and a link with our pre-Hispanic past," he said. He also highlighted another aspect: the nearby presence of indigenous communities, the Wiwa, Kogi, Arhuaco, and Kankuamo, considered "the living descendants of the Tairona, so they could help us understand the site."

Ancient Engineering

In the decades since then, a large-scale research project has restored the 200 structures, including circular houses, paved roads, stairways, terraces, as well as squares, ceremonial areas, canals, and warehouses. The city is positioned along a steep mountain ridge with stone paths and stairways linking different parts of town. The administrative and political and ceremonial center of Teyuna was concentrated on the terrace crowning the complex, while the residential districts were spread along the hillsides.

Archaeologists believe the Tairona built Teyuna in the ninth century, about 650 years before Machu Picchu. Its name in the Chibcha language means "origins of the peoples of the earth." Living up to its name, it became the spiritual and economic center of the Tairona people. At its height, Teyuna is thought to have housed between 2,000 to 8,000 inhabitants. The culture had not developed writing, and despite having no knowledge of the wheel or use of draft animals, managed to produce an agricultural surplus for centuries.

Teyuna's culture and economy appear to have continued functioning well after the Spanish conquest. The city was abandoned in the 1600s, but many believe that the local population was devastated by diseases introduced by the Spanish rather than by military conquest.

Finding the Lost City

From the end of the 1980s, archaeological work at the site was interrupted by violence linked to drug-trafficking and the consequences of Colombia's civil war. Work, and limited tourist access, resumed in 2006. The site remains extremely isolated and challenging to access. Visitors still need to hike for several days to reach it, although they no longer need to hack their way through jungle to appreciate the fortitude and ingenuity of one of South America's most remarkable cultures.

—Francesc Bailón

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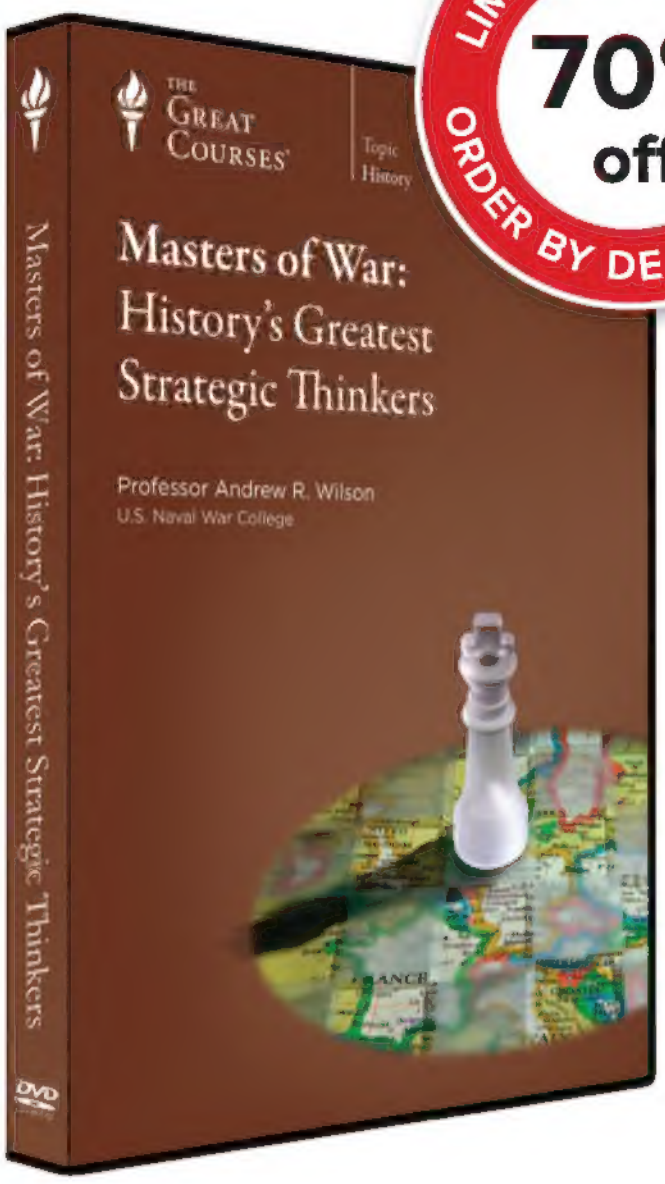
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FRIDTJOF NANSEN'S NORWEGIAN EXPEDITION ABANDONED THE ICEBOUND SHIP *FRAM* IN 1895 AND ATTEMPTED TO REACH THE NORTH POLE BY LAND.
ALAMY/ACI

FIRST TO THE NORTH POLE

IN THE 19TH CENTURY explorers from all over the world vied to be the first to reach the North Pole, then one of the last uncharted places. Setting out by boat, by sled, and by skis, these first expeditions were turned away from the pole by crushing cold, deadly ice, and devastating illness. Flying in the face of all this danger, two Americans—Robert Peary and Frederick Cook—sought to be the first to the North Pole, and each one claimed the honor in the early 1900s. Controversy surrounds their claims, as historians race to find the answer.

LONG LIVE THE QUEEN: ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE

DUCHESS, QUEEN, AND DOWAGER, Eleanor of Aquitaine was the most influential woman of the 12th century, wielding power over politics and culture alike. Daughter and heir of the Duke of Aquitaine, she first married Louis VII and became queen of France. The pair led the unsuccessful Second Crusade, after which they annulled their marriage. Retaining control of her family lands in France, she wed the future Henry II of England and had eight children, including the English kings Richard the Lionheart and John. Vying with Henry and her sons for control of the throne, Eleanor displayed her savvy and strength.

13TH-CENTURY MINIATURE DEPICTING THE MARRIAGE OF ELEANOR AND LOUIS VII OF FRANCE IN 1137
BRIDGEMAN/ACI

Miracle at Marathon

In 490 B.C. a few thousand Greek hoplites on the plain of Marathon seemed a poor match for the might of Persia. Their shocking victory over the Persian army was the first in a series of Greek victories paving the way to Athenian power.

Persia Rises Again

Seizing power in A.D. 224, the Sassanian dynasty established a new Persian empire in the Middle East that would last for roughly four centuries. As Persia's power grew, a flowering of art, architecture, and scholarship blossomed beside it.

Lost City of the Inca

Fleeing from Spanish invaders in the 1530s, the Inca took refuge in the mountain city of Vilcabamba. In 1572 they abandoned it and left the city in ruins. In their search for the site, archaeologists at first mistook Machu Picchu for the lost capital, until Vilcabamba was identified in the 1960s.

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